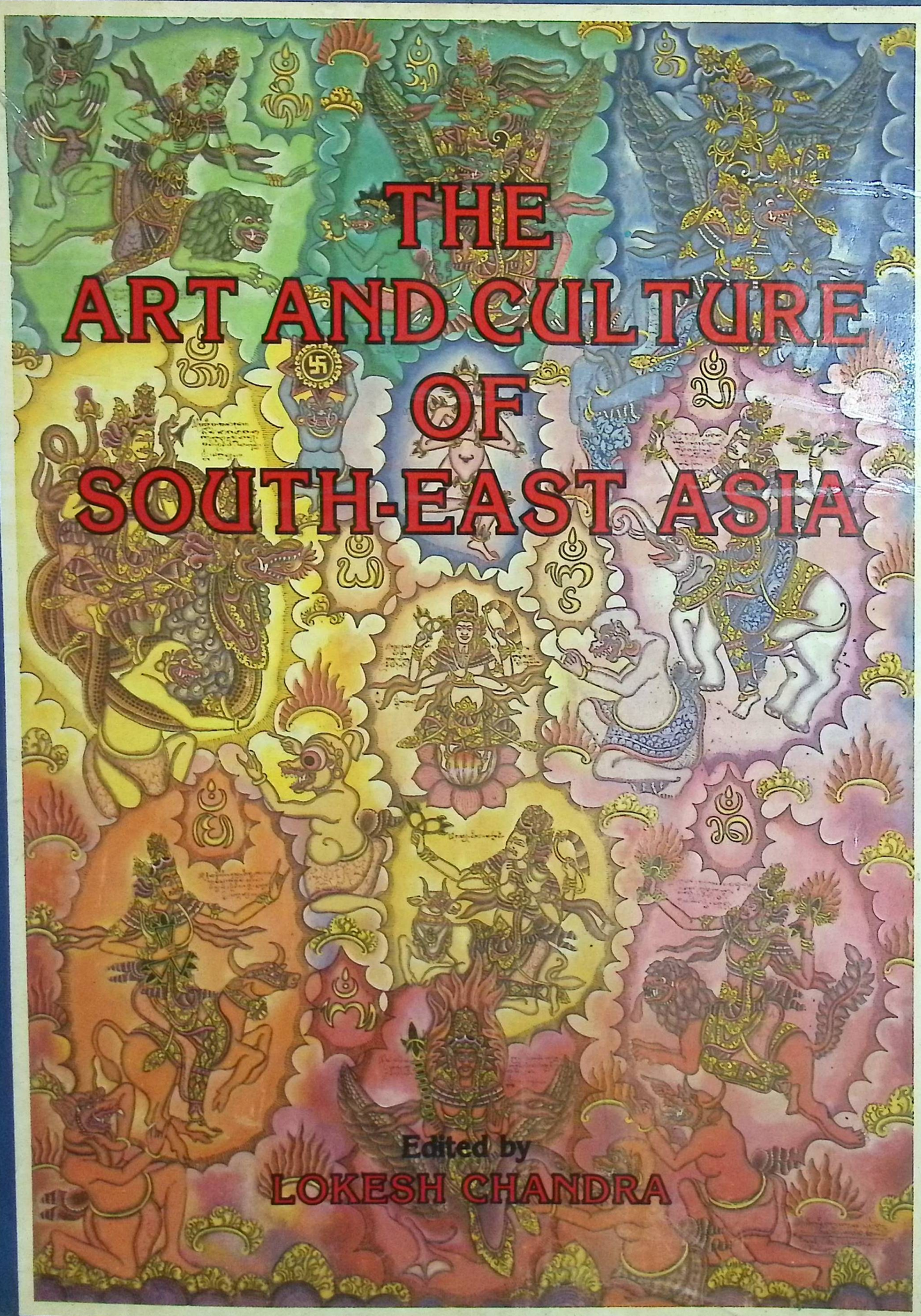

THE ART AND CULTURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Edited by

LOKESH CHANDRA

THE ART AND CULTURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

ŚATA-PIṬAKA SERIES

INDO-ASIAN LITERATURES

Volume 364

Reproduced in original scripts and languages
Translated, annotated and critically evaluated by
specialists of the East and the West

Founded by
Prof. RAGHU VIRA *M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. et Phil.*
Continued by
LOKESH CHANDRA

आचार्य-रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां

(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-
सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

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contributions of
A.L. Becker, Stephen C. Headley, Mason C. Hoadley,
Felicia Hughes-Freeland, Kazuko Ishii, R.E. Jordaan,
Marijke Klokke, Ida Bagoes Mantra, L. Mardiwarsito,
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Soewito Santoso, F. Seltmann, Sudarshana Devi Singhal
and Inna Solomonik

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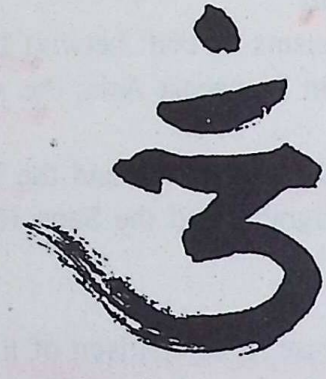

Gate gate pāragate pāra-saṃgate
Bodhi Svāhā!

Kojun Arai
新井公順 合掌

Dedicated to the memory of
DR. MRS. SHARADA RANI
(1.12.1929 - 20.1.1990)

by colleagues and admirers from
Australia, France, Germany, India, Indonesia,
Japan, Netherlands, Soviet Union, Sweden.
United Kingdom and the United States of America

in appreciation of her contributions to the study
of the culture of Indonesia as she has opened her
eyes to the silence that was from the beginning
in the eternal light of her being

Off in the stilly night,
Ere slumber's chain has bound me,
Fond memory brings the light
Of other days around me

Thomas Moore

MY SISTER SHARADA JIJI

Ishwar Prakash, Jodhpur

It is often argued "what is there in a name". When a daughter was born on 1 December 1929 to Shri Kailash Bahadur and Shrimati Vidyavati at Mathura, in the land of Lord Krishna, this question sprang up again. One day, mother happened to be scanning through an article in Kalyāṇ, written by one Sharada, M.A. She immediately picked up this name with a firm determination that her new-born daughter must secure the degree of M.A. when she grew up. This was a mighty decision in those days when educating the girls was a far-fetched cry, that too in the land of Lord Krishna where the women folk were especially orthodox.

Sharada's grandmother had developed a great fancy for her and in her childhood Sharada lived with her grand-parents. When she was about seven years of age, I, her younger brother, had an opportunity of visiting Mathura. Even as an innocent lad, I was shocked to see our grandmother waking her up at about 4.00 a.m. for taking a dip in the holy Yamuna in the light of stars, i.e. before dawn. I also woke up and wanted to accompany my elder sister. Grandmother told me that boys should sleep well and this exercise has to be taken only by girls in the month of *kartik* (December-January). Early next morning, however, I insisted and went with the ladies, hand in hand with my elder sister. Outside the house it was biting cold and the Yamuna water seemed colder than ice. A precious boy that I was considered to be, I was prohibited to bathe in the river but my sister had to take a dip in the icy cold water of the river. This incidence occurred when I was only about five years old but it has been so deeply imprinted in my memory that it instantly re-appeared when I started writing about my childhood memories of our sister,

Sharada Rani. Now I also reckon how the girls were "down-rated" in olden days as compared to boys in the family.

She joined her parents at Mount Abu when she was about ten years old. In those days there was only one school in Mount Abu which was co-educational. In an orthodox family like ours growing girls were not allowed to join such a school. She studied at home and in 1946 she appeared for the *Prabhakar* examination. As a High School student, I distinctly remember how our mother used to guide her to understand the great writings in *Doha Manasarovar Bihari Satsai*, after all our mother had a cherished desire of seeing her daughter "as Sharada Rani M.A.". Contrary to the expectations of all the family members, she passed the *Prabhakar* examination with flying colours and simultaneously the High School examination.

About that time, our father was transferred to Jaipur and we shifted with him to that princely state in 1947. During our stay at Jaipur, Sharada Rani was given special training in Indian classical music, vocal and sitar recitals under the guidance of our mother. Half awake, half asleep, one morning I heard the sound of heavenly music as if pouring from some fairyland. I dare not open my eyes fearing to be dropped from that celestial environment to this earth. But curiosity empowered me. My jiji was playing sitar, her eyes closed invoking the rāga in its purest form. The rhythmic music was flowing from the strings being managed delicately by her fingers like a natural stream full of waves. I beheld Vīṇa-Vādinī, Sharada, sitting before me and bowed my head. I realised yes there is something in a name. She excelled in playing the sitar and won the first prize in the All-India Music Competition for three consecutive years. Learning that a young girl from Jaipur has won the coveted trophy, Maharani Gayatri Devi had invited her to play on the sitar in her presence. We all went to the City Palace. In her three recitals, Sharada Jiji started with Bhairavi and ended with Multani. The Maharani of Jaipur was much pleased with her performance and presented her with a number of gifts.

My elder sister and I graduated in the same year, 1950 after two years of preparation for her graduation. She was also preparing for the *Sahitya Ratna*. In those days, there was considerable shortage of power in Jaipur and we used to study in the light of acetylene lamps. Since such lamps produced a good deal of smoke, we were not allowed to use them inside the rooms. We had, therefore, no other alternative but to shift our tables and chairs to the open terrace where we used to study under the sky, shivering in the cold. Such hardships, however, did not dampen her honest desire to get through both the examinations simultaneously. Her emphasis was more on the *Sahitya Ratna* degree of Banaras Hindu University as it was considered equivalent to the degree of M.A.

The entire house used to reverberate with *Lajjā aṁsh* of *Kāmāyanī* by the great Jaishankar Prasad, with the synoptic rhymes of *alaṅkāras*, and *padas* from *Sūr-sāgar*, as she had the habit of learning her lessons by recitation. She secured very good marks in both the examinations, thus fulfilling our mother's long-cherished desire and proving true to her name, Sharada, the Goddess of Learning.

My loving sister had a zest for cooking good food. She seemed to derive an inner satisfaction from watching others having a hearty meal. She was extremely innovative and used to pour new ideas in her cuisine and, I was always an ardent helper in her culinary exercises. In a family of eight brothers and sisters, all of them in the growing age, cooking was an arduous job. Naturally, enormous quantities of each item had to be prepared. My elder sister was, however, never at a loss to do the extra work. She was indeed a very willing worker, a real *karmayoginī*. Her self-confidence was unlimited and being the eldest daughter of our parents, she was a veritable 'head master' of the house. We youngsters used to look up towards her for leadership. Along with her polite and affectionate quality of leadership, she had developed an immense power of tolerance. One of our cultural traits which she had fully imbibed was showing respect to elders and to strongly maintain family bonds even in not-so-cordial times.

After obtaining her B.A. and *Sahitya Ratna* degrees, my sister started teaching at the Maharani Gayatri Devi School at Jaipur. In the course of the two years of her teaching assignment, she passed the M.A. examination. Our mother's dream was fulfilled.

Our father had by then shifted to Delhi but the family continued to reside at Jaipur. Our mother allotted to me the task of taking up the matrimonial correspondence for her. As an immature and inexperienced person, I used to write letters seeking a match for her in my very own Marwari English language. On a fine morning, in response to such a correspondence, a letter arrived from Acharya RaghuVira informing us that he himself and his son would be visiting Jaipur for a discussion, on a possible matrimonial alliance. A sort of panic spread in our house. On the letterhead, under the name of Acharya RaghuVira, was inscribed M.A., Ph.D. (London), D. Litt. et Phil. (Utrecht), Member, Rajya Sabha. The letterhead was decorated with the insignia of Parliament. Nevertheless the entire family joined in the preparations to welcome the guests. Shri Mohan Lal Sukhadia, the then Revenue Minister of Rajasthan and a good friend of our father, provided his Pontiac car for the use of the guests. No sooner the learned father and his son walked in our house, an ambience of super-natural pleasure and a sense of immense satisfaction spread all over. The personality of Acharya RaghuVira, clad in a dhoti and kurta, with his longish grey hair and a never-ceasing smile on his face, impressed us

immensely. The fair-complexioned, tall, handsome and immaculate, young Lokesh Chandra ji charmed our entire family. After a short discussion the large-hearted Acharya said YES to our proposal about the marriage of our sister Sharada to his son Dr. Lokesh Chandra. They were married on 22 June 1953. The marriage was solemnised with a lot of grandeur at the Sikar house situated outside Chandpole Gate at Jaipur. In addition to the relatives, the marriage party included the then Ambassadors of Germany and Holland. To greet them were the Chief Minister of Rajasthan, Shri Jai Narain ji Vyas, Revenue Minister Shri Mohan Lal Sukhadia and many other State Ministers from our side. As per Hindu rituals the gem of our family was transferred as a pearl in the necklace of another family.

IN MEMORIAM: SHARADA RANI

Lokesh Chandra
New Delhi

In the vigorous simplicity of his evocative diction, Ishwar Prakash the brother of Sharada Rani, tells of the formative years of her childhood and adolescence. He relates as to how she acquired her name that became the germinative space that was subsequently to expand and take form. The morning ablutions in the holy Yamuna in the freezing cold of winter months were to steel her for the florescence of feminine powers in the years far ahead. The studies at home in the shades of midnight oil were to provide her the yearning to strive, to live again, to create. Cooking for a large home and studying for her bachelor's and master's degrees were part of a struggle that awakens slumbering forces within us. It was the orange flame that flickers around red embers that never die.

In the first flush of her dreaming youth, on 22 June 1953 she became my life-companion. Here was a young couple delighting our father Prof. RaghuVira. She always referred to my father Prof. RaghuVira as *pitaji* 'father' and so I will follow this usage of our home in these pages. She was all wonder, her eyes wide open to see manuscripts on palmleaves from India, Cambodia, Thailand and Indonesia (called lontars). She touched the ancient xylographs from Tibet and other trans-himalayan areas, and felt their veined texture, like veins visible on the back of a human hand old with age. The Chinese woodprints done centuries ago filled her with the dream space of time. The manuscripts on birch bark from Kashmir written in the Sharada script thrilled to the glory of her name. In timid gestures she touched manuscripts a thousand years old, written with pure gold on nīlapatra (paper made of pure cotton impregnated with indigo to keep insects away) : "I hope they will not crumble at my touch. Can I ever read them." She was delighted when father taught her the Sharada script to read the knotted birch-bark manuscripts from Kashmir in a script that was the resonance of her name. In this complex ensemble was a dream opening up where love and toil mingled.

Father Prof. RaghuVira had spent several weeks in Indonesia with scholars and sites, minds and monuments, stones with history and silence of the Classic period, ancient manuscripts and contemporary movements. Deeply remote, yet a past on intimate terms with him, forging dreams that dwelt within, was a resonance between thought and images. These oneiric veils preserved the geometry of glory: lontars and precious stones of history before him on the table, as they told about their eternity. What a summons to morning vigour they were to father. To Sharada Rani it was a jostling with realities beyond imagination. The world she knew was losing its struts and structurals. She was in a strange, new world with new fibres and forces, a depth of perspective demanding turbulence of action. Away from a static cosmos of her previous years, she could not simply look on. She had to burn up the old debris and shatter every cinder that holds up the flames. She was face to face with immediate grandeur of India's remote ages. It penetrated deeply into her being, and the whole began to blossom before her eyes in action. She started to study Sanskrit the catalyst of Asia's culture, Kawi the classical language of Indonesia and Dutch without which no studies on Indonesia are possible. She had accepted a permanent invitation to life-long toil.

Father was occupied with the development of the national language Hindi as a vector of modern science and technology, social and humanistic disciplines. The new expressions were an extension of India's linguistic culture with creativity of millenia. They were words with living roots, which were transformed into symbolism of meaning. The whole of modern evolution germinated, grew and blossomed in them before the eyes of father. Sharada Rani was introduced to this new glory of the linguistic substantive. A new India awakening after a slumber of centuries was in need of a speech to propel movement, to give impetus to a creative dynamism, in our own idiom. He wanted to call a halt to the attrition of our words to carve out a living reality, capable of living on, without the dead weight of foreign words that desiccate all meaning. It was a will to civilisation, that lay dormant in our roots. She had joined the caravan to participate in an un-ending journey into a world of nascent India of science and culture.

She had to learn Dutch upto a level of comprehension to be able to use the Old Javanese Dutch dictionary of J. Juynboll, to read the fundamental works of N.J. Krom on Hindu-Javanese art and history, the critical editions and translations of Old Javanese texts: in fact a host of books and articles in Dutch. Father wanted her, as me earlier, to have a basic grounding in the history, language, literature, plastic arts, inscriptions, archaeology and other related fields of Indonesian studies. Reading

rubbings of inscriptions and original lontars of kakavins, tuturs, tattvas and others were a part of her training. This was the family curriculum that all of us had followed to have a direct feel of the originals, to be in touch with the inner being of the materials to rediscover values of force in the way the scribe, the sculptor or the painter wanted to show us the light. The microfiche and microfilm readers, new to the research environment of India in the early 1950s, gave her an elation of a scientific venture. The three years from 1954 to 1956 were a preparation for, as well as working on, a critical edition of the Old Javanese didactic text Ślokāntara. She prepared the collation sheets of the Ślokāntara to record the readings of the manuscripts and read Sanskrit works to find out parallels. The *Indische Sprüche* by Otto Böhtlingk, published from St. Petersburg in the last century, was her favourite. She made father's lontar the basis for the collation of the Old Javanese text. This simplified the reading of microfiches. Throughout the years 1955 and 1956 she was constantly in touch with her promoter Prof. Jan Gonda, State University of Utrecht and an outstanding authority on the comparative study of Old Javanese and Sanskrit texts. The edition, translation, critical apparatus and comparative notes were completed by the middle of 1956, and she was happy to calligraph the text in Balinese script and the notes in her hand. The entire work of 475 pages was finally printed by October 1956, when we had to shift from Nagpur to New Delhi. This erstwhile capital of Madhya Pradesh became a part of Maharashtra and lost its primary importance. From a provincial capital we shifted to the national capital bristling with international contacts. Delhi had become the centre of an emerging political order of non-alignment in the charismatic personality of leaders like Nehru, Soekarno, U Nu, Chou En-lai, Ho-chi-minh, Nasser, Khruschev and others. It was a perspective of creative turbulence of which father was an esteemed participant, both as a Member of the Parliament of India, and as a companion and personal friend of many of the political eminences of Asia. He was a link between His Excellency Dr. Soedarsono the representative of Bung Karno and Pandit Nehru. The shift from Nagpur to New Delhi was welcome to father and to members of the family. We all became busy with the preliminaries of the foundation of the building of the International Academy of Indian Culture at its own premises at Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi. It was to house the rich collections from Indonesia, Tibet, China, Soviet Union, Mongolia and other countries which had resulted from father's expeditions during the 1950s, soon after Independence. The Asian Relations Conference, the Bandung Conference and other meets had restored to the dreaming ink of Asia, its lost crystals. The yearning to strike up a partnership was eager and strong. Father availed of these golden moments to reveal the confluence of the cultures

of Asia in their manifold intersections. While father was busy bringing up the structures of the International Academy of Indian Culture, four of us sailed for Europe (Sharada Rani, myself, sister Sudarshana and her husband G.D. Singhal) on 28 December 1956. The Suez Canal was closed to traffic and we took the month-long historic route via the Cape of Good Hope. It was the first and last sea journey for her. After four weeks on the high seas, long last we set foot on the soil of Naples on 26 January 1957, after an interminable view of the waters of oceans. Three days later (29.1.57) we were in Rome as the guests of Prof. G. Tucci the intrepid explorer of Tibetan culture in the inhospitable Himalayas. The animated conversation with Tucci was like a ceremony of learning. He answered in Sanskrit, recalling his days with pandits who spoke only in the sacred language. We moved across space and time, in Tibet, Mongolia, Siberia, China, India and spanning centuries. Prof. Tucci rejoiced to know that we were going to visit Mongolia, then inaccessible behind the Iron Curtain to Western Europe. He wanted us to bring a set of the complete collected works of Tāranātha whose incarnations (the Jibcundampas) had ruled the Khalkha Mongols. Their religious sway reached beyond their political frontiers. Sharada Rani listened to this lion of learning with great attention, wondering at the unrolling of the immense pageant of the past. Prof. Tucci showed us his library at the speed of a bullet train and took us around to view his hanging thaṅka scrolls. All filled her with a sense of marvel and reverence. Here among the stones of Rome were the shadows of India's dreams. Next day (30.1.57) we were in Germany. The German trains stop for seconds unlike the Indian railways. As we reached Bonn she was busy throwing the baggages out of the train. To her Europe seemed to ignore minutes and to live in interstices of seconds. Welcomed by the renowned Mongolist Prof. Walther Heissig, we were in Bonn, the Varanasi on the Rhine, where the first German chair of Sanskrit was instituted. The last day of January brought us to Utrecht, where Sharada Rani and her sister-in-law Sudarshana were to complete their promotion to D. Litt. We stayed in the nearby village of Bilthoven, in the house of a leader of the Vegetarian movement in the Netherlands. It was a cosy house to study and to cook our meals with the white snows shimmering through the transparent window panes. Here we were in a transient cold world ensconsed in the cosy warmth of a heated home. The action-intensive Europeans evoked the admiration of Sharada Rani with their gadgets and contraptions, but above all their intense hard work, their ingenious domination of samsara, the triumph of white magic of the white man, admirable in his subtle logic and consistent achievement: a wide-eyed daughter of Asia in the wonderland of Europe. She settled down to prepare for her *viva voce* on the first of March 1957. Besides the dissertation on

Ślokāntara, she had to prepare a few Stellingen on allied disciplines as well as one of general interest to be defended at the promotion ceremony. She chose to question Edgerton's interpretation of Buddhist terms in his *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, and the interpretation of Tibetan and Old Javanese expressions. Besides these preliminaries, the months of February went by in visiting institutions like the Royal Tropical Institute at Amsterdam with its plaster casts of Borobudur and Candi Jago, which conserve the original elegance of the sculptures now lost in weathering processes. The images of Gaṇeśa and Prajñāpāramitā, a tall *wadah*, illustrated Thai manuscripts and others attracted her. The statue of Avalokiteśvara at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam caught her eye. A visit to the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden with its rich library and publications of fundamental relevance to Indonesian studies was a fulfilment of a long-cherished desire. Dr. P.H. Pott, the Director of the National Museum of Ethnology, showed the rich collection of Tibetan thaṅka scrolls, xylographs and manuscripts, and the Five Buddhas from Japan in their magnificently illuminated glass cases. The awaited day arrived on the first of March 1957 when Sharada Rani and Sudarshana Devi got their degree of D. Litt. in red golden sarees. The newspapers flashed their photographs, flanking their promoter Prof. J. Gonda, on the first page with long writeups: "Exotische Promoties".

On 8.3.57 we left via Rotterdam to London, where we visited the School of Oriental and African Studies. We met Prof. R.L. Turner, and professors of Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian. From London we flew to Prague once the glory of Oriental studies and renowned for its school of linguistics. Dr. Odolen Smekal was our official guide. He spoke impeccably chaste Hindi. Later on he studied at the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi for six months. In Prague we met Dr. Vincenc Porizka, who had written a grammar of Urdu. Dr. Milena Hübschmannova, an expert on gypsy life and language, guided us to a school of gypsies several kilometres away from the capital. The gypsy children are gifted in music and mathematics and fast in learning languages. In Slovakia they paint pictures on the exteriors of their residences in orange and green colours. The flowers and plants are nostalgic in being reminiscent of India. The gypsies write letters in their Romani language. They played their guitars and sung songs in Romani for us. One of the songs reads:

Chayori romanyi	O gypsy girl
ker mange yagori	Do me a small fire
na cikni na bāri	Neither small or big
cārāv tro vodyori	Please (lit. I kiss your soul).

chayori is diminutive of *chai* 'girl'
ker imperative of *kerel* 'do'
cikno 'small', *cikni* is the feminine form.
bāri Hindi *baṛī*
cārāv 1st person of *carel* 'to kiss, lick'
tro Hindi *terā* 'your'
vodyori diminutive of *vodi*.

They related a short story, and wanted to see the song and story written in the script of their paternal land, their *dedesko them* दादो का धाम. Sharada Rani wrote the poem in Devanagari script on the blackboard, and applied the traditional vermilion mark (*bindī*) on the foreheads of the girls. The young Romanis were electrified. They wanted to visit the land of their origin, and study their Hindi language. The Czech headmaster took us away for lunch. We were not to see them again! In Prague Dr. Poucha gave us his latest book "13.000 kilometres through Mongolia" which was a best seller of the time. It had five hundred photographs of Mongolia including those of monuments in the northwest. Met several scholars specialising on Asia. Saw the Hittite letters of the Mitannis in cuneiform on clay, in clay envelopes: four thousand years old. The treatise of Kikkuli on the training of horses has Sanskrit technical terms. The Hittite kings had Sanskrit names. These documents will one day change the conception of Indo-European origins.

On 18 April 1957 we left Prague for Moscow, via Warsaw. Miss Nina Dmitrievna Gavrushina, who was working on Hindi *chāyāvādī*/mystic poets was our guide. She took us around the Kremlin, Bolshoi Theatre and the usual tourist spots, besides the Oriental Institute with its rich collections of Dr. George Roerich. The 24 April was aflame with fluttering red flags, being the birthday of Lenin the founder of the Soviet state. In the midnight we were on the wings of the Aeroflot to Mongolia. En route, the whole day of 25 April was spent in the plane and as midnight struck the final hour (24 hours), we were taken to a hotel in Irkutsk for a nap of five hours. The plane had landed in slush and mire. The deep mire all around presented a frightening sight. To cross on foot was impossible. A special truck took us from the plane itself to the rest rooms at the airport. As we entered the airport a huge marble statue of Lenin and Stalin greeted us. The two were petrified in conversation. Smiling conversation in this part of the world was possible only for powerful leaders. As the morning dawned we were airborne for Ulanbator, the capital of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic. The fatigue of the long journey was mitigated as we saw below the romantic beauty of snow-clad peaks with a meandering river, black rocks sprayed with

falling white snow, and the crystal clear waters of Lake Baikal to our east. Seeing the pure, dry, cold air through the panes brought to our minds the antithetical nature of this intoxicating new air and the stuffing odors of the political order. Could man ever abandon these orders for an unformulated future? The white land and the white man in a red strait jacket. Are the falling snow flakes, the bracing air, all the freshness that embrace our eyes and minds, filled with promises of a great freshness to come? From a cold life, out of the cold, will life rise? Will silence draw deep breaths of clean air. Will the warped consciousness awake in the stirring beauty of the indefinable charm of life? The ground below was white all over, cleft by veins of water, glaring in the early sun. Will the white land be cursed for ever by red magic? In the foyer of the retiring room was a huge portrait of Mao-tse-tung woven in silk: a communist leader enmeshed in the web of a traditional fabric from the deeps of the imperial history of China. It was the dynamic scheme of Chinese aesthetics realised by centuries of her creativity. Its loveliness caressed our eyes with the pure pleasure of vision: the sky come down to work on the earth of the Celestial Empire. We could not but admire the subtle eloquence of the hand of the Chinese artists: a divine effort for opposing men who weigh down life. It bled on the thorns of life. Irkutsk was on the frontiers of the Soviet Union: so we had to undergo a lot of formalities. Again in the air in a Chinese aircraft, we were to the north in a clear blue sky, without a speck of clouds. A bright sun warmed us. Chinese written everywhere, Chinese air hostesses, and Mongolians returning home. Lost in aerial relaxation, in fine soft bluish skies, in un-interrupted calm of reverie, it was the actualisation of the rhythm: at 8.40 a.m. the plane touched the soil of Ulanbator. The calm of the heights then, was now the commotion below. Venerable Gombodo Lama, Prof. Lubsanvandan and Mr. Horlo welcomed us, as we kissed the earth of Mongolia, the land of the blue sky we had longed to see. Ulanbator means the "City of the Red (*ulan*) Hero (*batar*)". Batar is *bahadur*, a Mongolian word used in our languages. The Red Hero refers to Sukhebator the founder of the communist state in Mongolia. Sukhebator means "Eagle Hero": culture was vultured in his order. Stayed at the Altai Hotel and Sharada Rani taught the maids there to cook vegetarian Indian food. With a twinkle in his almond eyes, in a naughty hushed voice, my hands pressed, Prof. Rinchen would say that the Mongols are carnivores: tigers, lions and wolves. He was reminding us of the Zolotaya Orda 'the Golden Horde' that had extended Mongol dominions to encompass most of European Russia in a series of brilliant campaigns by Batu, the grandson of Chinggis Khan and held them from the middle of the 13th century to the end of the 15th. This led to a split of the formerly united Russian nation into Russians proper, Ukrainians and Belorussians. The Russian

princes had to receive a patent (yarlyk) from the Mongol Khans. The days we spent in Mongolia were thus rich in nuance, in exercise of silence. Let us resume the thread of events. Later on the ladies at the Altai Hotel who had learnt vegetarian cooking, were to cook for Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of India, on his State visit to this country.

We visited the State Library, which has over 96,000 Tibetan xylographs and manuscripts, besides 15,000 in Mongolian. There are several editions of the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur. A complete set of the Mongolian Tanjur in 226 volumes is rare. Buddhist deities in alto relievo on the covers of manuscripts was a living dream. A fifteenth century manuscript of the Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā in Sanskrit written on palmleaf, and a manuscript of the Guhyasamājatantra in Tibetan with deities in gold in relief attracted Sharada Rani.

Saw the Green Palace of the Hutukhtu Bogdo Khan, with its pavilion of quadrilingual inscription. It was a museum. We saw a copy of the Golden Annals of Tsawa Tamdin, which was published by me later. It was a sad reminder of a vanished era, raising its crests in wrath. Today, time smites the folly of vain, mischievous hands in a new creative spring. We had seen the fury of leaden thoughts. Every evening we would stroll out in the open Sukhebator Square to escape the smell of cooking of meat in the hotel. We stopped at a gate of the Chojin-lamin-sum, once the monastery of the State Oracle of Mongolia. Its abbot was the brother of the Bogdo Khan. Saw for the first time within its deserted cold space, a mummy of an eminent lama, exquisite sculptures of the Twenty-one Tārās done by Undur Gegen Jñānavajra, the greatest sculptor of all Mongol time, and maelstrom of deities and depiction of the Sukhāvatī in high relief stucco sculptures decorating its walls. In a complete halt to all mental processes, we stood dazed in a world of luminous repose. What a liberating sublimation! Sharada Rani in the calm of heights closed her eyes to treasure the breath of this vision.

The dinner was a long session with Prof. Rinchen in the intimacy of his home. Madame Ratna Rinchen introduced us to her daughter: "her name Indri is Sanskrit". She was the wife of the Deputy Prime Minister of Mongolia His Excellency Mr. Jagvral. Mrs. Indri was accompanied by her handsome son. She said "People say that he is as handsome as an Indian". It reminded us of the classical concepts of Mongolian visual art where the facial features of divine images followed the prescriptions of Indian physiognomy. Madame Ratna had invited a Mongolian lama to prepare vegetarian dishes for us. Hardly could he contain his curiosity to peep through the curtain to see us. We saw him turn pale all of a sudden behind the curtain. He had

seen the interpreter, the eyes of the state. He sank into the depths of terror that chilled his face. It inflicted a cold wound in our mind: icy and dark. Sensing the shrill of the infernal storm raging within us, Prof. Rinchen gave us a sandal wood seal of the International Academy of Indian Culture in the quadratic script that had been invented by Venerable Phagspa the Imperial Preceptor of Kubilai Khan. For a century it was used for state documents of the Chinese empire as a substitute for the Chinese seal script. Ever since it has been in vogue in Tibetan and Mongolian lands for state, monastic and personal seals. It is based on the Tibetan and Nagari scripts. Prof. Rinchen further said that the historic Candan Jovo or statue of Lord Buddha that had been brought from India to China, had been taken by the Russians from Ulanbator to Ulanude. It was then in the Museum of Atheism. Before the second World War the Russians had gone to Buryatia twice to collect images and manuscripts from the monasteries. Prof. Rinchen spoke of the Twentyone Tārās done by Undur Gegen Jibcundampa Zanabazar (Jñānavajra) who was born in 1635 and died in the Yellow Temple near Beijing at the age of 89 on the first spring moon of 1723. The countenance of these goddesses follows the daśa-tāla system of Sanskrit works like the Pratimā-lakṣaṇa, Citra-lakṣaṇa, Saṁvarodaya and other classical Indian treatises. Otherworldly in contemplation, they have a high-bridged nose, eyes reminiscent of lotus petals (*rājīva-locana*), suffused with youthful harmony. With rapt attention we listened to Prof. Rinchen in his ramblings over the realities of his youth, surviving wrapped up in dreams. The Gandan monastery had about fifty Sanskrit manuscripts which were victims of the Revolution. Near Qubsukul "Lake of Blue Waters" a codex of the Mongolian Pañcatantra was in personal possession. Prof. Rinchen was busy cataloguing the Mongolian Tanjur which was published by us in Delhi twenty years after this evening. Every sentence of this evening was a fresh canvas dedicated to the glory of culture. Prof. Rinchen has written an article on the Soyambo script in the *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, tome II fasciculus 1. Soyambo script was created by Undur Gegen in the 17th century on the basis of the Nagari script and manuscripts in this script, though rare, exist in the State Library. The 18th century gigantic image of Maitreya that dominated the skyline of Urga was destroyed. Over 700 monasteries were razed to dust, in an ecstasy of destruction. Prof. Rinchen has a catalogue of the xylographs (*par-tho*) in the Aga monastery which was destroyed alongwith 32 other monasteries. The *par-tho* is from the beginning of this century, before the World War I.

We met Prof. Johannes Schubert from East Germay who had come to Ulanbator to continue his studies on Mongolian names. When we asked him if he would collect

xylographs, he replied that all the printing blocks were destroyed in the 1940s. He was busy on a grammar of modern Tibetan. He has researched on the Tibetan name of Mount Everest. His articles on a study of 1500 Mongolian names, compared with Sanskrit and Tibetan, will appear in the near future. Schubert fell silent and we left him in the security of silence. As we talked to several friends from Mongolia and from socialist countries of Europe, we seemed to be in a land of fragments, of broken pieces, of chaos born of fury, and within this eerie silence the storm of a nascent future.

The next morning we were in the Gandan monastery, accompanied among others by Prof. Rinchen. His learned comments enlightened our questioning minds. He told us that the monastery has an incomplete set of the collected works (sumbum) of Tāranātha. The collected works of some Lamas are in duplicate. The Choijin-lamin sum had sixteen-metre long thangkas, and so also the Gandan monastery. All are gone. Gandan has dhāraṇī-mantras in Tibetan and also descriptions of the Rin-ḥbuṅ pantheon of 500 icons in two extensive volumes. Sharada Rani engaged Madame Ratna Rinchen in a conversation on the traditional marriage customs of the Mongols. In former times the marriage rites were conducted by priests, after looking up an auspicious date in the almanac, called *kālacakra* in Mongolian. The rites were accompanied by the chanting of Sanskrit mantras, around a fire. Incense, butter, rice, wheat-grains were offered into the fire. Bride and groom circumambulated the fire thrice (*tripadī*). A knot was tied to the garments of both after the three steps. The groom sprinkled rice on the bride. Madame Indri and her son were also with us. Prof. Rinchen said that the name of his grandson is *svastikavajra* in Sanskrit. By now we were in the monastery with a set of the Narthang Kanjur, the staff of an Indian ācārya who had stayed with the Undur Gegen in the 17th century, and the petrified finger of his other colleague, a Nepalese image of Avalokiteśvara, gold-covered conch from India, a few statues out of the one hundred thousand images of Ayushi manufactured in Poland before World War I for the health and long life of the Jibcundampa. There was a handwritten Kanjur of 1911 and the statue of Vajradhara/Rdo-rje-ḥchaṅ sculpted by the first Jibcundampa Undur Gegen, besides the ephemeral stupas made up of butter and barley. As we stepped out, white geese were flying in the sky. The Lamas told us that they are symbols of auspiciousness: the visit of Indians to the monastery heralds felicitous omens. We had our lunch in the traditional nomadic felt tent of the Mongols, the *ger*. The lunch and (Hindi) *mal-pua*, sweets of Indian origin, sweet dish of milk with raisins, yoghurt, milk-rice (*pāyasa* in Sanskrit), vermicelli, cottage cheese: all vegetarian monastic diet of a full-moon day. The tent was

surrounded by eager and devout Mongols to catch a glimpse of persons from the land of the Buddha.

Had an audience with the President of Mongolia H.E. Mr. Tsedenbal. He enquired about our father, our food and progress of our studies. Visited the Central Museum, the Sukhebator Museum and the Oracle Temple Choijin-lamin sum. We were told that a photographer will accompany us to the Erdenidzu monastery. Erdeni is the Sanskrit word ratna, dzu 'lord': Ratnanātha. Two Mongolian students will come to Delhi to study at the International Academy of Indian Culture.

We were again at the Gandan monastery. The cloth on the library table bore the eight auspicious emblems: umbrella (chattra, gdugs), fish (mīna, gser.ña), vase (kalaśa, bum.pa), lotus (padma), conch (śaṅkha, duṅ), endless tie (śrīvatsa, dpal.beḥu), banner (dhvaja, rgyal.mtshan), wheel (cakra, ḥkhor.lo). It had also the viśvavajra (sna. tshogs.rdo.rje) and svastika (gyuṅ.druṅ), decagram (rnam.bcu.dbaṅ.ldan). Sixteen Apostles (gnas.brtan bcu.drug) cast their benign glance on us from the walls. The names of Lamas surrounding us were: Ma.tha.su.hi, Ḥod.zer, Rin.chen.rdo.rje, Bstan.ḥdzin.ḥod.zer, Dpal.rdo.rje, Dam.chos, Thabs.mkhas, Bstan.ḥdzin, Rta.nag, Skal.bzaṅ.tshe.ldan, Ḥod.char, Bsam.pa.lhun.grub, Blo.bzaṅ.phur.bu, Dar.rgyas, Bla.ma.skyabs, Blo.bzaṅ.ṅag.dbaṅ, Mgon.po.rdo.rje. Besides the library (dpe.mdzod. kyi.ḥdu.khaṅ), there were three other halls: the main hall where worship was conducted (dgaḥ.ldan.theg.chen.gliṅ), the congregation hall with the statue of Vajradhara (bajradharaḥi.ḥdu.khaṅ), and the Candan Jovo Hall (jo.boḥi.ḥdu.khaṅ). As we offered the holy water of the Ganga river to Lama Gombodo, he distributed it to all the lamas and kept a portion for the monastery. The venerable told us that the Stone-finger Ācārya, who had stayed in the personal tent of Undur Gegen in the seventeenth century, had taught the Mongols to prepare batash (Hindi *patasha*), sweets out of milk, and other vegetarian dishes. They were served before us on the tables: reminiscence of three centuries flying on the horizon of the frozen pilgrimage of the Frozen-finger master.

We were invited by Prof. Lubsan Vandan to his residence. He translated his name Lubsan as Sumati and vandan as śrī. His daughters were Oyun delger (=Prajñāpāramitā), Oyun-bilik (=Prajñāmedhā), son Daramasenge (Dharmasiṁha), and the grandson was Manla-jap (=Bhaiṣajyaguru-rakṣita). He offered us dalandakhor (seventy-layered pan-cake), *urum* (Hindi मलाई की रबड़ी), sweet rice and other preparations. Prof. Vandan showed us a Kalmuk translation of Suvarṇa-prabhāsa and Ocean of Stories (Uliger-un dalai), Songs of Milarepa, White Annals of Cinggis Khan, Pañcarakṣā, Mani-kambum, Song of Moon Cuckoo/Candrakokila wherein a king of

Kāśī is mentioned. All of them were in the Mongolian language. Colleagues of Prof. Vandan had also joined us: Phagwa was teaching comparative mongolistics. He was teaching the grammar of Mongolian by Chos.kyi.ḥod.zer written in 1305 and was also comparing it with Pāṇini. Another friend Nomingerel (=Dharma-prakāśa) was writing on the Mongol verbal system.

On 2 May 1957 we had a working session with Prof. Rinchen. He will prepare an edition of a document on the 33 monasteries of Buryatia, giving the year of their establishment, the number of lamas in each, the Tibetan and Mongolian works xylographed by their printeries. He has done a grammar of Mongolian with a history of the national script, besides Phagspa and Soyambo scripts, phonetics, morphology and syntax. He had a list of more than two hundred Sanskrit names prevalent in Mongolia. He said that the guardian deity of Urga was Garuḍa. He showed us a hand-written geography of the world written by Minjul hutukhtu in the 18th century. It mentioned Aurangabad, Telang, Masurpatan, Sumbalpur, Nakhpur (Nagpur), etc. He informed us that the State Library has a few sutras in Manchu, but not a set of the Manchu Kanjur. There are traditional maps of the monasteries in the libraries at Ulanbator. He gave us a sampling of Sanskrit names in Mongolian: Ayushi, Ananda, Adita, Amugabajar (=Amoghavajra), Ariya, Slaricid, Aγshobi (=Akṣobhya), Adiya, Bulingγa, Indra, Indri, Upasika, Ushnīkha, Udbala (=Utpala), Erdeni (=Ratna), Calindib, Galidebi (=Kālīdevī), Galaradi, Dharamsidh, Girdi, Kusali, Kunda, Kumuda, Bünabadra, Gübira (=Kubera), Gürüraγča (=Gururakṣa), Caγra (=Cakra), Candra, Cambaγa (=Campaka), Cay-a (=Jaya), Cinamidr-a (=Jinamitra), Dibanggara (=Dīpaṅkara), Darma, Darmasid (=Dharmasiddha), Badma (=Padma), Badmaraga, Bargas (=Prakāśa), Bargasbadi (=Bṛhaspati), Badmasamba, Barodi, Bacarbani (=Vajrapāṇi), Badi (=Bodhi), Maqasri (=Mahāśrī) and so on. Prof. Rinchen will send us a biography of Tanzin Odser who has read Sanskrit, is a good photographer, as well as paints thangka scrolls. Twentyfive years ago, with the help of Tubyansky he had translated Vande Mataram into Mongolian. It was the first translation of an Indian text into Mongolian in the 20th century. Tubyansky perished in the purges. Erdenidzu monastery was annihilated in 1940. As we spoke of these frenzied devastations, we noticed the mother of Rinchen mumbling *Om maṇipadme hūṁ* on the 108 beads of her rosary, and we knew that one day the night of Mongolia will be filled with rising suns. As the mother recited Sanskrit dhāraṇīs and long hymns, we were in reverie over cosmic powers of return, new impulses of the eternal suddenly alive in moments rediscovered. Madame Rinchen interrupted to request us to send the works of Ramatirtha and Vivekananda for study. Reverted to the grinding night of despoil. The

73 meter high copper image of Buddha at the Gandan monastery was melted down. Plunging down the precipices of political dogma, Rinchen narrated at length how the scupltures of the first incarnation of Tāranātha, Undur Gegen, were inspired by the heavenly beauty of his wife. Once while he was away in Peking, his wife died of unbearable separation. In the abyss of desolation and the anguish of a rent heart, Undur Gegen graced his sculptures with an elegance that is the pride of Mongolia's visual culture.

On the night of 2.5.1957 we saw a historic film with captions in the Mongolian script. The Mongolian script was banned and replaced by Cyrillic. The film reaffirmed its rising up from the sunken nadir. The film recalled a Mongol hero who had fought against the Chinese. The Russian writer Ilya Ehrenburg was also in the audience. Burning of books, classical dances recalling Mongolian scrolls, and the victorious armies rushing onward were the living lava of the calm starry sky of the steppes, dreaming of a victory in which the temple bells will ring of their own accord. No bronze lips to wound the immaculate blue. It was the longing of the sky and the earth to be whole again.

On 3 May 1957 we left Ulanbator at 12.00 noon. On the way had tea at the Tashijiling at 5.00 p.m. Stayed for two nights at the health resort of Khujirte. On the 4th morning visited Erdenidzu surrounded by a rampart topped by 108 stupas. There were three ruined temples, with battered ritual objects scattered here and there. The image of Caṇḍa Mahāroṣaṇa was well preserved. The offerings of areca nut, wheat, raisins, barley, rice, etc. were laid on a table. We ascended its top floor and saw the Thousand Buddhas overhanging the ceiling. Sanskrit in Lantsha characters was visible. We turned the prayer wheel. On the topmost floor were maṇḍalas, thangka paintings, xylographs, Tārās etc. painted on the walls, pillars glowing in colourful nāgas done in low relief, no rituals and no monks, dust everywhere and incense nowhere: we were face to face with the adversity of sacred grandeur.

On 8 May 1957 went to see the Choijin-lamin sum. It had the mummy of Dpal.ldan.chos.ḥphel, the teacher of the Eighth Jibcundampa. It was rich in statues and ritual implements stacked in hurry. It had the dance mask of one of the two ācāryas who were with Undur Gegen. Statues or paintings of Mahākāla, Vajrapāṇi, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Tārā, Ayuśi, the Sixteen Arhats, Mahāsiddhas, Lcam-srin, Padma-sambhava, Nāgarāja(s), tsatsha with Buddhas, Yub-yum Heruka, Thousand Buddhas made in woods and others spoke of a whole order rustling in silence.

The Sukhebator Museum, located in the former residence of Prime Minsiter Choibalsan, had large traditional maps of old Urga, Erdenidzu (dated 1585), Mañjuśrī

monastery, the main monastery of Urga and of provincial monasteries. It had a felt tent with an altar consecrated with a Buddha image. There was a prostration plank in front of the image. An enlarged photograph of the decree of Parliament changing the name from Urga to Ulanbator. In spite of the fact that Choibalsan, the Stalin of Mongolia, once lived in this building, the ceilings were illuminated with lotus designs and the front door had a śrīvatsa. A chart revealed the statistics of vandalism: 749 monasteries, 2000 chapels, 2323 foreign traders and 100,000 lamas (of whom 80,000 were liquidated) were annihilated. A colour film that documents the monasteries in flames exists in the archives of the Museum. The Revolution began in 1921 with the assistance of Russian armies, under the leadership of Sukhebator, born in 1893 in the family of a herdsman.

Lama Yishithabkhai presented a Mongolian work of Under Gegen in the Soyambo script, specially written for us. An old woman of 92 years presented a rosary 'to our dear guests from a faraway land'. The History of Green Tārā, Śukasaptati and stories of King Bhoja in Mongolian were printed after the Revolution. Artist Jambal-lhundup has printed the symbol of peace from the Kanjur and his original is with the Peace Council of India. In it a monkey, squirrel and bird sit on the back of an elephant, surrounded by trees, mountains and water.

Spent 9 May 1957 at the Central Museum with a panoramic representation of the lakes, mountains, and natural scenes of Mongolia. It has brocade robes from Huna graves with Chinese characters, ceramic-ware from Karakorum, painting of Abatai Khan the founder of the Erdenidzu monastery. Prof. Rinchen told us that the stupas of Karakorum are from the 13th century, where we collected over twenty miniature stupas, now in the National Museum, Delhi. On our way back from Erdenidzu we saw the ruins of Qara-balγasun, a fort that was destroyed by the Kirghis in the tenth century. Radloff has given its photographs in his "Atlas". Photographed xylographs at the State Library: book of Lantsha, Vartula, Soyambo, Tibetan and Mongolian scripts; quadrilingual Nāma-saṅgīti later edited by father Prof. RaghuVira.

Returned via Irkutsk, Omsk (Siberia), Sverdlovsk (Urals), Kazan (Volga) to Moscow. The Museum of Oriental Art at Moscow has hundreds of thangkas and bronzes from Tibet, Buryatia, Mongolia and from Manchu China. Madame Natalia Tolstaya a specialist in Punjabi and Tatyana Katenina a scholar of Marathi were our constant companions in Leningrad. They learnt to sing a Sanskrit hymn on Ganga from Sharada Rani. Took the flight from Moscow on 24 May 1957. Stayed in Kabul to see the Kabul Museum. Ladies were not allowed to move on the roads without being completely covered with veils. People pelted stones on Sharada Rani when she

went around to see the markets and the flow of life in this mediaeval Islamic town. After a short walk she had to stay locked in a room. We reached home on 26 May 1957 in the new building of the Academy, where the vision of father's cultural endeavours were to find a haven of incredible creation. She joined us in the arrangement of the Academy and its library which was spread over two years (1957-58).

Sharada Rani wrote articles for the Hindi encylopaedia *Viśva-gyān-kosh* on various topics in her spare time. The years 1959 and 1960 were spent in the critical edition of the Wratiśāsana, an Old Javanese text on the conduct for wratins. In 1959 we visited Nepal to collect manuscripts and to have a look at the historic monuments besides living temples and monasteries. It was a thrilling experience to see history alive in cities like Bhaktapur and homes of learned ācāryas and image-makers with rare manuscripts and sketches of deities. The owners were willing to show us their treasures for a few seconds and then to store them back. Sharada Rani held them captive in laudatory conversation while I clicked the camera. A scholar showed us a sketch-book illustrating the well-known Sādhana-mālā. He agreed to give a photocopy, but as he was busy in the birth of a rhinoceros in the zoo he had to send it to Delhi. We knew it amounted to a never. Sharada Rani had a brilliant idea, and engaged him in details about the problems of rhinoceros gynaecology. In the meantime I could photograph the two dozen frames. She always took pride in narrating this and other incidents where she had to devise means to tide over tiny but exasperating hurdles in our field work.

In 1963 Prof. RaghuVira passed away in a car accident leaving us in a lonely world. Suddenly, life stared at us. We felt in deep dark, unprepared for the future, without the reassuring presence of father. From the deepest depth the highest comes to its height. From lame and limping time we had to find imaginative and dynamic vitality. We looked upward and saw the sparkling constellations in farthest space. As we played with distance, thoughts flowed into deeds. The symbols of our past brought back to life action, meaning and achievement. Deciphered meaning became intense dedication. We took up the challenge and girded up to carry on the vision of father. Sharada Rani took up the onerous responsibilities of the Secretary of the International Academy of Indian Culture, which she discharged till her last days. Administrative duties claimed her time, she did her studies in interstices of other duties, and took up father's service of the slum-dwellers of Delhi. She went to the slums and organised meetings for their uplift. She arranged exhibitions on the art and culture of Indonesia, and other countries of South East Asia as well as of East Asia, to educate the common man about the commonalities of human culture. In 1966 she became a Member of the Metropolitan Council of Delhi and also of the Child Welfare Board.

At the invitation of the Buddhist Patriarch of the Soviet Union she joined me on a fortnight's visit to Buryatia. It was a rare occasion to see the northernmost land of Buddhism, engraven in our minds ever since father tried in vain to be there in 1955. We took the Aeroflot on 7 June 1967 for Moscow. We were met by His Holiness Bandida Hambo Lama, other members of the Central Board of Buddhists of the USSR, and representatives of the Ministry. The car reached the tarmac and we drove away like VIPs with the Bandida Hambo Lama, dreaming of distant trans-Baikalian monasteries. After a short stay at Moscow we left for Ulanude to see the two surviving monasteries of Ivolginsky and Aginsky. The diary of Sharada Rani has no jottings and I have detailed this visit in the *Cultural Horizons of India* 1.255-278. We were in Irkutsk on 16 June on our way to Ulanbator the capital of Mongolia. Saw the places and persons mentioned earlier. Visited the Choijin-lamin sum where restoration had started in 1961. The four gates in the four directions, the four Lokapālas, the inner courtyard, and various images bore signs of care and conservation. After a stay of two days, we returned to Irkutsk on the morning of 19 June 1967 with the Hambo Lama, Ochirzhap, Dugarov, Paldanzhapov and interpreter Miss Tsybenova. Spent a day at Baikal with its crystal clear waters which were used in Mongolian shaman rituals and also in Buddhist rites as "the holy water of Ganga (*gang-in os*)". Back in Moscow on 21 June we went around the shops, transparent as the blue sky in their vacuity. In search of a luminous shore man had arrived at an unhoped for shore. A farewell reception was held in our honour on 24 June, attended by Buddhist leaders, academicians, the press and Shri R. Mehrotra of the Indian Embassy. Prof. Dylikov conveyed the earnest desire of Soviet Buddhists to strengthen relations with India and he spoke highly of the academic contributions of our family in this direction. The next day we were at the airport to greet the President of India, His Excellency Dr. Zakir Hussain. He recognised Sharada Rani and asked for me. She felt a moment of elation in locating me in the que behind her. The next day we visited the Institute of Oriental Studies under the direction of Prof. B. Gafurov. Saw the Special Cabinet of Yuri Roerich, where three scholars were teaching a course in Classical Tibetan, mediaeval history of Imperial Tibet from 7-13 centuries, and were also busy editing the Tibetan-Russian-English Dictionary compiled by George Roerich. Work on Sanskrit, Khotanese and Tocharian fragments from Central Asia was in progress.

In a few hours we were in Delhi, asleep on a comfortable sliperette, reposing in the clouds, with warm memories of a pilgrimage to Siberia trailing behind. Sublime in roots, deformed in materialisation of political dogma, frightened by paltry victories of the state, the soul of the Mongols awaited the dawn of dematerialisation. Living

metal seeking a horizon where the material would dissolve and disappear into nothingness, free of constraints, into the human heart and warm veins.

The following month, we journeyed to Dharmasala to acquaint His Holiness the Dalai Lama about our visit to the Lamaist Buddhists of Buryatia who held him in deep reverence. The photographs of Him that we had carried along were in great demand. The simple Buryats in their great night would like to light their stars in the distant presence of the Dalai Lama. We showed the catalogues of the printeries of Buryat monasteries to His Holiness, who remarked : "They are very important: the milk of dreams." We spoke of the destruction of monasteries, burning of books, genocide of Lamas and so on. His Holiness said: "it will be useful to print an account of your visit." He was very impressed by the accurate and exquisite thangka painting of Kālacakra from the Aginsky monastery, the Nalanda of Buryatia.

In December 1967 Sharada Rani and I accompanied the Bandida Hambo Lama and his delegation to Sikkim (31.12.67-5.1.68). On the third of January we met Gyewa Karmapa at the Rumthek monastery. Her first visit to the Himalayas in their distant deeps, their awesome symmetry, the flaming fire of the eyes of our sages, the glow that has nourished our radiating divine, our heart in hiding: it blessed her.

Sharada Rani had an abiding interest in the education of the young generation and of the deprived sections of society. In 1968 she became a member of the Governing Body of the Bhagat Singh College. In this capacity she tried to emphasise the quality of education *per se*, rather than as a means to livelihood. The physical and mental welfare of the student community and the teachers were her concerns. She had the honour to serve in this capacity till 1976.

In the autumn of 1968, she went alone to Japan, the rising Land of the Rising Sun, eager to see the rich and living Buddhist traditions. She was the first member of the family to visit this island nation where history and destiny intertwined in a creative syndrome in the minds and doings of the people. She reached Tokyo at 11.00 night. The very next day she was off to see the Seven Wonders of Tokyo: Rakanji, Shinto Shrine, Jomyoin temple dedicated to Jizō, Buddhist stupa with Siddham shuji, Tokyo Tower, and the National Museum. The Jomyoin has 84,000 stone statues of Jizō or Kṣitigarbha, the guardian deity of children. His images are found everywhere on the frequented highways of Japan. His love and pity for little ones comforts the souls of children who have passed away. Every stone placed with a prayer in the lap of a statue of Jizō will shorten the penance of some young soul. The statues of Jizō with bibs hanging down their throats are the whisper of childhood innocence, the rhythm of artless naiveté. Sharada Rani was moved by them, and she ever went back to these

symbols of the simple, of the natural course, without the guiles of existence reducing life to artfulness. The Gohyaku-rakan temple has statues of 500 Arhats or apostles of the Buddha, who are emaciated through ascetic practices. Fanned by a strong wind a big fire broke out in Meguro, Tokyo in 1772. It destroyed two-thirds of the city of Edo (modern Tokyo) and killed a hundred thousand people. Devotees erected 500 stone statues of the enlightened Arhats for the repose of the ill-fated persons. She spoke at the Young Buddhists Association of the Tokyo University. She visited the world-famous book-store of Maruzen Co., the bejewelled Kannon at the Mitsukoshi department store, and the Asakusa Kannon where a perennial stream of devotees is moved to what is purest within us. It is here that the divine becomes the multiple ascending force of Japan's achievements. She met a number of scholars, visited research institutes, and Kamakura with its Daibutsu erected in AD 752. It is the largest bronze statue in the world (15.21 metres). As its Hall was washed away by a tidal wave in 1495, it stands unsheltered. She went to Kyoto to see the Jingoji on Mount Takao, with its autumnal glory of maples turning red. The steep ascent to Jingoji leads one to the five wooden statues of Ākāśagarbha in a stupa. These statues are of the ninth century. The mountain side was aflame with the leaves glowing red. The link between man and nature in Japan is the open-air world of living. She visited the Western Honganji, the cathedral of the Pure Land Sect of Amitābha, the Kiyomizu-dera, the Golden Temple of Kinkaku-ji, the Sanjusangendo with imposing statues of 1001 Avalokiteśvara surrounded by twentyeight Hindu deities in the verandah. Met Dr. S. Manabe who asked for the sand and photographs of the River Sarasvati. Spent two days at the Daianji monastery which was founded by the Indian Bodhisena in the eighth century. How could she miss the Todaiji monastery with its second colossal Buddha: a statue of Rocana, Roshana in Japanese, the sambhoga-kaya on a lotus pedestal, rich in the cosmology of the Avataṁsaka, a scripture of cosmic vision of Universal Good and the merging of the pilgrim therewith. At the National Museum, Nara she saw a palmleaf Sanskrit manuscript on abhidharma. It had travelled from India to China and thence to Japan and here was an Indian in reverence before it lost in reminiscences of a pilgrimage in centuries. About 150 kilometres away, tucked on an isolated peak is the Kokiji monastery, hallowed by the presence of the 18th century Saint Jiun. A thousand fascicules written by Jiun in Siddham are the treasures of this monastery. Its presiding deity is esoteric Sarasvatī who appears to devotees once a year. Sharada Rani sang a hymn to Sarasvatī at the request of the abbot of this monastery Venerable Maeda. He recorded it for annual worship rites. Likewise, Rev. Kono had taped the hymn to Sarasvatī for his Daianji monastery, whose main deities are

Avalokiteśvara and Sarasvatī. On the morning of 7 November she left for the Hasedera monastery hallowed by Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara and Sarasvatī. Kṣitigarbha with a staff in hand is ever on the pathways helping those in distress. In the afternoon she was at Muroji monastery, in all the beauty of nature. Sitting in concentration, scriptures have been recited here for rain over centuries. No more beautiful spot can be there for protected, intimate communion with nature, with astonishing richness of the forest and towering size of the cryptomeria trees. It is the Nyōnin Koya or Koyasan of Women, as Mount Koya the main centre of Shingon/Mantrayāna was inacessible to women. The largest rock carving in Japan is the 37-foot image of Miroku/Maitreya, done by Chinese sculptors in 1207-8. The holy tank is shaped like the Siddham letter VAM वं , the symbolic syllable of Vairocana. Surrounded by maple trees with their foliage of flaming red, it presents an ethereal confluence of water and fire, an earthly paradise. The image of Śākyamuni in wood combines supreme wisdom with gentle compassion, in the light harmony of drapery that echoes Gandhara. The Twelve Generals attributed to the greatest Japanese sculptor Unkei are works of extraordinary vigour. The Twin Maṇḍalas of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu in subdued light, quiet and discreet decoration, express a deep respect for the dignity of the human in the loftiest esoteric impulses of the mind. The crystalline harmonies and the interplay of essences in the solitudes of Mount Muro established themselves in the heart of Sharada Rani. She left Muro for Koya the mountain steeped in the doctrines of Shingon/Mantrayāna, with its abstruse art and intricate music of Sanskrit hymns, its wealth of symbolism of the indestructible diamond of ultimate truth. The Reihokan Museum of Esoteric Buddhist Art, was a felicitous view of the manifest forms of the mystical universe, whose substance is the body of Vairocana. Here were inexhaustible beauties, potentialities, activities, transformed into celestial personalities. Sharada Rani was all eyes, so much beauty, so much serenity lingering over the centuries. Thought explicit in form and form implicit with incense, flowers, mystery, ritual, hymns, and from song back to art. Trailokyavijaya, Amitābha, Acala, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Cintāmaṇicakra, Vairocana, the 'spring figures' (*haru-e*) of Rāgarāja, and hundreds of other sculptures were all vitality and creativity, revealing a subtle spiritual symbolism. From the gods to living minds of Shingon like Professors Nakano Gisho, Ito Shinjo, Miyasaka Yusho, Takata Ninkaku, and Yukei Matsunaga. They welcomed her at the Tentogu monastery. Left for Hongkong on 18 November 1968. Reached Bangkok to pay homage to the monasteries and their sacred images, to visit the Royal Palace Tusita Mahaprasada, to witness a performance of the Thai Ramayana at Sala Narasimha Hall with a sitting dinner on mats and campaka florets for ladies. She returned

to the warmth of home, enchanted to be the first in the family to visit the Land of the Rising Sun, with its ancient temples and long avenues of trees, mounts of wisdom and plains of technology, life and systems at the vortex of art and thought, genealogies of centuries and glories of the present. From untrammeled flights touching the lofty vaults of the Soul, she was happy to be a daughter of the earth of Bharata.

The founders of Mantrayāna in East Asia were Śubhākara, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. Vajrabodhi stayed for a while in Indonesia. Here he met his future chief disciple Amoghavajra and gave him the initiation. In 741 Amoghavajra again stopped in Indonesia in his onward journey to acquire literature. The Tantrism of Japan and Indonesia represents an early stratum and hence their proximity. It is no wonder that Shingon/Mantrayāna of Japan inspired F.D.K. Bosch and Paul Mus in their interpretation of Indonesian texts and monuments like the Nāgabāyu-sūtra, Kalpabuddha, Chandi Sewu and Borobudur, specially by the Japanese Kongōkai or Vajradhātu maṇḍala. Sharada Rani was imbued with the milieu of the maṇḍalas in Japan and in years thereafter we spoke of the vital role of the living traditions of Shingon in explaining the Indonesian texts and monuments. An article by the young Japanese scholar Kazuko Ishii in this volume interprets the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan in the light of his own tradition.

In the December of 1970 she was long last in Indonesia to have a feel of the sky and the soil on which the kakawins, tattwas, tuturs, chandis and images had been created. Under this part of the heavens, gods had flown the crests of Sumeru to stabilise Java, that was now Mount Gunungan. Here were the wind and the waters where Guṇadharma contemplated to envision the Borobudur to represent the abstract manifestations of the dharmakāya, the arūpadhātu in rūpadhātu, the partly visible and partly invisible in the latticed stūpikās, a vast flow of forms vibrant in the meditations of the sculptors, eternalised in their chiselwork. Here she was face to face with a drop of the azure of the mind, participating in a cosmic experience shared by India and Indonesia. Blue is the colour of meditation in Zen. The blue of the skies over the Borobudur had taken on its blueing function and sitting on the topmost terrace of the Borobudur she wrote a poem. The smile of far, luminous shores of Indonesia lighted her inner being. This pure landscape, vibrating with the silence of mantras, dreamt in her memory. On 20.12.70 she visited the Central Museum at Jakarta to see the statues, terracottas, inscriptions, and lontars. The images of Gaṇapati, Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kubera, Lakṣmī, Maitreya, Buddha and a whole row of Durgā images were a picturesque flight into all periods of Indonesia's history. The next day she met Mrs. Rujiati Mulyadi and Ipon Purawijaya at the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional (National

Language Institute) who are working on the 260 regional languages. She spent a day (22.12.70) with Mrs. Satyawati Suleiman seeing the photographic library with its detailed documentation of Borobudur, Prambanan and other archaeological remains.

Mujiyono and Rachmadi Prajasudira showed her Yogyakarta, whose shops bore names like Pancabrata, Nirwana, Garuda, Prapanca, Wiswakarma, Wiswakarya, Sujono, Suyasa, Yasawijaya, Prasasta: picturesque words bearing the imprint of classical kakawins, the psychological documents of history. A visit to the Gunung Agung Bookshop was a journey into the psyche: the books had titles like Widyasastra, Sabda Pandita, Bharatayudha, Kresnaduta, Yogasastra, Pranayama. She stayed at Ambar Rukmo, which had a shop named 'Saraswati' decorated with a blue painting of the goddess seated on a lotus and holding a vīṇā and a book in her hands. The shop of art objects had the name 'Ramayana'. The roots of Indonesia are deep and dynamic. On 24 December 1970 she paid a visit to Borobudur and Prambanan, accompanied by Suharsono of the Projek Restorasi Borobudur. He was very knowledgable and highly cultured in the true Javanese tradition. It was an experience for her to see the inner, elemental life of Indonesia alive in his person. Visited the palace/kraton of the Sultan who was then the Minister of Economy. The construction of the palace was begun in 1755 and completed in 1800. Built in seven parts, it is rich in musical instruments, regalia, and wayang puppets. The gamelan of the Palace originated in the Hindu period of Javanese history and is still played on the birthday of Prophet Mohammad in the mosque. The royal bride was carried on a nuptial palanquin by twenty people, while the royal groom rode a horse: this heirloom preserved at the kraton is reminiscent of Hindu rites. Saka era is used in Java for traditional functions. Banyan and kapila trees in the compound of Sultan's palace are an experience in continuity. The fruit of the kapila tree resembles *kapittha* and looks like the *Achras sapota* fruit (Hindi *chīkū*). There are several sets of the wayang golek and wayang kulit, wooden as well as leather puppets, of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata (called Parwa). The Parwas are the cultural lungs of Indonesia, the visual images of their oneiric life. Imposing musical instruments of the gamelan in the huge spacious halls of the kraton sing through the shoreless air. For Sharada Rani they were the indescribable silence of the inner landscape, the metaphors that embraced the beauty of the kakawins. The Dutch had knighted the Sultan of Yogya after the Second World War with the title of 'Candramayura', a consummate expression that sublimes the spirit. Visited the Sono Budoyo Museum with its unequalled collection of batiks, illustrations of wayang, and ancient images, which reminded her of a poem of Rilke:

Through our hearts, which we keep open
There passes a god .....

It also had a model of the Borobudur, whose niches have 504 images of Tathāgatas. A thought crossed her mind: what is the number 504? It becomes 1008 if doubled. Does it conceal a meaning undiscerned so far, a missing link in the interpretation of the Borobudur? She asked me on return. The querry was registered in my mind. Years later it became my starting point for a new perception of the monument. She circumambulated the monument as a pilgrim and as a scholar, for sādhanā is both knowledge and wisdom. Went to Chandi Pawon of the Śailendra period, with no image inside, but known as Kabajrānalan. Again, affixes *ka-* and *-an* raised questions. Saw the sculptures outside and passed on to Chandi Mendut.

25 December 1970. The Ratu Boko palace commands a bird's-eye-view of the Prambanan. Chandi Loro Joṅgraṅ 'The Temple of the Slender Maiden' flanked by the temples to Brahmā and Viṣṇu, with relief panels of the Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇāyana is said to have been constructed by Viśvakarmā. The Chandi Sewu 'The Temple of the Thousand' with its 280 chapels sanctified by Buddhist images was a vast ruin: what serene images born of the unbodied joy of contemplation of the artist, they pierced her senses with darkness. She wrote in her diary: it is as vast as, and a veritable, Prambanan. Later studies indicate that Prambanan follows the concept of the thousand (*sahas-ra*) which is might (*sahas*), the power of the state. Climbed the double-storeyed Plaosan and Chandi Sari, and finally came to Chandi Kalasan of AD 778 whose image of Tārā is lost. Chandi Sambi Sari of AD 780 had been exhumed from under a rice-field only two years ago. The whole temple sank into the earth and had emerged as fresh as it was when constructed and sculpted. The images of Liṅga-yoni, Mahākāla, Nandīśvara, Gaṇeśa, Durgā, Śiva Mahādeva, Nandī were undimmed either by age or by weathering. They were sparkling and glowing, pure and alive in the divine reverie of the sculptor. She was the dreamer enclosed in unconscious contemplation in the imperceptible vibrations of a royal scion of the Sañjaya dynasty.

26 December 1970. Reached Denpasar, the capital of Bali. Received by the Rector of the Udayana University, Dr. Ngurah, his wife Gusti Ayu Aravati, and children Bagus Nu Arta, Kusumawardani, Mas Rani Devi, Susruta-maputra, Sarasvati (born on a day sacred to Sarasvati), Laksmi Devi, Anandakusuma, and grandchildren Andriyani, Nirmala Devi, Ramaputra, and Candradevi. The next day (27.12.70), Cokorda Rai Sudharta took her to Ubud. Posters of the cinefilm Visnu, bus stand called Putra Bali, and hotel Darma Nirmala: she was fascinated by these names, powerful in their roots.

In village Pancawarna water sprouts from the earth. A temple stands by, with bathing tanks. In Goa Gajah (Skt. gaja-guhā) lie ancient stone seats for samādhi.

Witnessed a kecak dance at village Blege, twenty kilometres north of Denpasar. It is a monkey dance: Rama and Sita arrive, Ravana carries away Sita, who finally unites with Rama, all performed in a wide encirclement by actors making loud monkey sounds. Saw the śrāddha of the grandmother of Prof. Mantra. The cow in front was followed by Prof. Mantra and his father, boys and girls carrying decked mortal remains, and about two thousand men, women and children. A wayang was performed at 4.00 in the afternoon, while the pedanda wore his coronet and recited the sacred mantras. Mrs. Sharada Rani recited the hymn to Sarasvatī with the bell and flower in her hands, and got blessings of the pedanda: the great and sovereign life savours the holy veils of time.

On 29 December she witnessed a wayang wong performance of the Ramayana in the village of Batuan, alongwith Miss Gordon, arranged by Mr. Panji. The next day was spent in seeing the Bali Museum, Denpasar whose curator was I Gusti Ngurah Bagus. Image of Nārada, small votive Buddhist stupas with short sutras inscribed on seals set inside, wooden image of Bṛhaspati, a replica of the Taman Ayu temple, and an illustrated lontar of the Bharatayuddha are noted in her diary. Saw the barong dance at Hotel Denpasar whose theme was derived from the Mahābhārata. On the last day of the year (31.12.70) had detailed discussions with Mrs. Gedong Oka, in whose house father had stayed when her husband was the Governor of Bali. She recounted the names of her sons: Bankala, Krisna, Harimurti, Rudiarta (Rudrartha), Viraguna and Viradharma. She said that the first element *vira* was from father's (Raghu*Vira*) name. Her daughters bore the names: Mas Mahyuni, Suprabha Indrayuni, and ----- (not legible). The World Conference on Religion and Peace, sponsored by the Quakers, had donated a thousand copies of the Gītā to her institution, the Bali Shanti Sena.

The new year began (1.1.71) with the Tooth-filing ceremony of Wijayanti the daughter of Prof. Mantra, and of other girls. In the afternoon, Sharada Rani visited the Taman Ayun Temple (taman 'garden', ayun 'beautiful') with Sudharta. Once a royal temple, it is surrounded by a lake on all sides: it represents crossing the ocean of existence into the Supreme Being. Water flowed from the Lingam. Pañcatantra is on the base of the temple and Arjunawiwāha on its sides. Śiva has three manifestations: Sadāśiva, Paramaśiva, Śivātmā. Bali is an eight-petalled lotus maṇḍala of the eight powers of Śiva as enunciated in the Wṛhaspati-tattwa. The eight powers are symbolised in the eight temples in the eight directions of Bali. Ida Pedanda Gede Ngurah, the President of the Kediri Parisada Hindu, wants to undertake a pilgrimage to India to bathe in the holy tīrthas, especially in the Ganga. He writes on palmleaves in the traditional style: words are amulettes.

On 2.1.71 visited the Arts Faculty of the Udayana University, with a student Wirayani, to consult lontars on pitṛpūjā. Saw lontars Parama-rahasyopadeśa, Puja dewa, Puja Pitṛ, Puja Pitṛ Ligya, Puja Daha, Puja Pamukuran, Puja Ksatriya. Goris bequeathed his collection to the University. The entrance to the Arts Faculty is hallowed by an imposing image of Sarasvatī flanked by Gaṇeśa. Pedanda Gde Ngurah performed worship with mudrās and mantras to sanctify a couple. Gamelan in attendance, girls bringing in objects for worship on their heads, the characteristics of gods represented by mudrās, Lord Śiva immanating into the pedanda, the profound recitation of mantras: the whole scene was sublime in its grace, animating the faithful with light and depth. The Sanskrit dictum is *nādevo devam arcayet* "one who is not divinised may not invoke the divine."

On the third (3.1.71) she was off to Pura Besakih, the national temple of Bali, dedicated to Śiva in his aniconic form. There is a padmāsana to invoke the Divine Lord Śiva who emanates with the mantras and departs when the rites are complete. In the evening saw the temple dance of Benek. The next day, saw the ASTI (Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia) where young boys and girls were learning to dance and to play the gamelan. The two halls bear scenes of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata done on cement slabs in a realistic style. On 5.1.71 she left Denpasar for Canberra via Sydney, to attend the International Congress of Orientalists. She stayed with Dr. Soewito Santoso who received her at the airport. Later, she shifted to the Burton Hall of the Australian National University to join me. She listened to various presentations, inspite of a piercing toothache. Speaking gave her unbearable pain and she could not participate in the Congress. Visited the Lake and kangaroos in the open air zoo. Left on 13th January for Singapore, as I flew back home. Enjoyed her sojourn of five days at Singapore and reached Delhi on 18 Jan. 1971.

The year 1971 was spent in working on Pitṛpūjā manuscripts in Old Javanese. Though remarkably similar to the Hindu rituals of India, the mantras can not be traced back to the classical Sanskrit texts. Her unfinished manuscript awaits editing and annotations before it can be published. In July she accepted to be an examiner in the Old Javanese course started at the Benaras Hindu University.

At the beginning of the next year she was constantly with me meeting political personalities for nomination to the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of the Parliament of India. The outcome was negative and she felt sad at the wasted toil. She wanted to gallop across the un-seen parts of the world. New spaces are enchanting remedies. After another bout of sustained hard work to secure official permission to travel abroad, she could leave for the wonderland of the United States on 3 October 1972

via Bombay and a day's sojourn at Brussels. On the 4th, left for New York aboard a jumbo jet: her first flight on this Gaṇeśa-bodied Garuḍa. She was charmed to be with her brother and sister after a long time in this horizon-edged land. Visited the White House, which was less ostentatious than the President's House in Delhi. The East Asian collections at the Freer Gallery of Art were a flow of poetic imagery in wood, stone and paint. The Korean Buddhist sculptures of the Great Silla dynasty and the Gandhara schists enriched her consciousness. She had taken my *Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas* which evoked an appreciative response wherever she went in the States. She had a long conversation with Mrs. Lena Kim Lee who was studying the Buddhist images of Korea. On 13 October 72 she was received at the New York airport by the Mongolian lama Choijamtsho, who had worked with us at Delhi. She stayed with Prof. Alex Wayman, who was astonished to see the *Esoteric Iconography*..... The professor showed her photographs of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi's participation in the lunch at the World Sanskrit Conference. Here she and Prof. Wayman are sitting side by side. She saw a number of books on the maṇḍalas with Prof. Wayman. Mrs. Hideko Wayman showed her the Guggenheim and Metropolitan Museums. A large painting of Mañjuśrī, another huge wall hanging with Bodhisattvas, and the rich holdings of Chinese art at the Metropolitan entranced her. She was delighted to see the exhibition on the Shahnama entitled "King of Kings" wherein Mongolian motifs dominated its style, so much so that three princesses had the *bindi* mark between their eyebrows, as is the wont of Indian women. Visited the Doris Wiener Gallery and Tibetan Arts and Crafts Ltd with their Tibetan objects. On 14 Oct. 1972 she was in the Asia House where a unique exhibition on Thai arts was on. The entrance was dominated by a large statue of Lord Buddha. Mrs. Jessica Feingold of the Jewish Theological Seminary showed her the buildings of the United Nations, where nations have donated from whole halls to carpets and paintings. It is a uni-verse where nations seek affinity with the air of heaven. Feingold had visited the International Academy of Indian Culture in the company of the Cambodian Thera Venerable Dhammavara, just a day before I was to leave for Dushanbe in 1968. Feingold commissioned one of her students to show her landmarks like the Empire State Building, Jewish Theological Seminary, Columbia University. In the evening the Mongolian Thokthok dropped her at the residence of Choijamtsho. He was printing A. von Stael-Holstein's trilingual Guruyoga in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian. On 18.10.72 she visited the Buddhist temple at Farmingdale headed by Dge.bśes.-yar.ḥphel, Geshe Galdan, Geshe Gilmid-sangpo, Geshe Chorji Lama. The Chorji Lama requested her to send the Golden Annals of Mongolia, the history of the

Karmapas, the historic guide to Samye monastery and Nāma-saṅgīti published by me. She met Mr. Khendup who had lived with us for many years. Geshe Galdan welcomed her at his residence-cum-chapel. It had the Lhasa Kanjur, and several thangka scrolls hung over the walls. She also went to the temples of Geshe Wangyal, the Kalmuk temple, the Lamaist Buddhist Monastery of America where Geshe Lobsang Tharchin teaches Tibetan to about fifteen students. The Chakhar Mongols have their own Tashilhunpo Temple which is under the charge of Chorji Lama, as Choijamtsho and Odser perform rituals and look after its upkeep. On 19.10.72 she saw the Tibetan collection at the Natural History Museum. Its incharge Mrs. Carin Burrows took her to the storage cupboards and gave articles on the Three Hundred Icons. There are three original thangkas with the three hundred icons in their symbolic colours. Mrs. Burrows said: "your husband writes sensitive letters. I have ideas similar to his. Probably we are born under the same stars". The art of Tibet is locked in cupboards, away from the eyes of the people. They are opened for special visitors. How can it grow and germinate into transformative impulses and blossom into a creative process of personal mythologies? Places and persons, shops and scrolls, ideas and images, warm receptions and individual psyches, known friends and new acquaintances in her first and last visit to the USA opened vistas of the spirit of the country, the complex perceptions and metaphors ever being moulded into the tangible, research to development to production repeated in a cyclical process. What a sense of fulfilment, and a cornucopia of achievements inseparably linked to the enrichment of life. All along she carried the mega-volume of the *Esoteric Iconography*, about ten kilos in weight. Tired lugging it around, she wrote: "everyone admires the maṇḍala book, but no one buys it". On 21.10.72 she reached Boston. Met Dr. Robert Thurman, who suggested her to reproduce the yigchas of Drepung and Gandang in facsimile editions in the Śatapiṭaka series. She spoke to Prof. Joseph Fletcher and Prof. Francis Cleaves, the great savants of Mongolian, Central Asian and Chinese languages and civilisations. Dr. Thurman reminded her that he had dined with us at Delhi at a hippie get-together. He helped her to go round the institutions in the city. Nagatomi welcomed her at the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University. She showed them the maxi-book on maṇḍalas, and presented the two sheets containing the three hundred icons.

The morning of 22.10.72 brought her dejection as the hotel staff did not assist to arrange a city tour: "go and see the booklets". She left on her own to visit the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, famous as the seat of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy who incarnated a new age in the perception of India's art. Found herself in the translucent

paintings of Amitābha from East Asia, three exquisite maṇḍalas of Hevajra, and the imposing immensity of the holdings of the Museum. Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan paintings and images, Kushan and Pāla sculptures, Gandhara portraits and icons: in them she saw a soul that grows and flashes messages. A privileged and expressive encounter with the universal, the timeless, in an intensity that dissipated all despair and despondency. The vast expanse of the galleries with statues from all epochs of India's history, saturated her with the colossal, an evocative layering of the cosmic in the blood of living moments. The next day she was again at the Museum of Fine Arts, to see the rich and priceless collection from Japan. An eighth century painting of Śākyamuni, statue of Jizō/Kṣitigarbha, ten coloured paintings of Arhats from Daitokuji at Kyoto, paintings of Mañjuśrī, Mahāśrīdevī, Cintāmaṇi, and many others were breath-taking in their timeless expressiveness. Conducive to mystery, reflection and meditation, they were impulses from the eye to the mind, a symbiosis between organic shape and the enduring non-form. Dr. Chimyo Horioka, the librarian at the Museum, is a friend of Dr. Yamamoto, disciple of my father in 1936-38. He had invited Dr. Yamamoto to visit the USA. Long last, he purchased the maṇḍala book, and now light she was, feather-light. She had overcome the demon of weight. Mr. G. Potter, Circulation Librarian, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute showed her the Museum dedicated to Red Indians and the Fogg Art Museum. She saw the Red Peking edition of the Tibetan Kanjur, same as the one we have at the Academy. Mrs. Moni Hickman was busy cataloguing Japanese books. The Fogg has Chinese and Japanese paintings and images, besides masterpieces of Gandhara. The murals from Tun-huang are most outstanding among its holdings. The day of 25.10.72 she spent with Prof. Alex Wayman and his Japanese wife Hideko Wayman. Both of them were working on the Tibetan and Chinese translations of the Śrīmālā-siṁhanāda-sūtra, whose Sanskrit original has been lost. It is one of the three earliest sutras carried to Japan, the other two being the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa and the Lotus Sutra. Fascinated by the Hare Krishna Temple where the Americans Manjari and Rukmini welcomed her. Naradevi was composing the journal on the IBM. Prabhudasa was playing the flute while devotees did hari-kīrtan with rock-and-roll music. Mr. Mahaprabhudasa the flute-player took her to the Kennedy airport.

She was received at Dusseldorf by my sister Dr. Sushama and brother-in-law Mr. Rakesh Lohia. She went to their beautiful home in Köln. It was cosy and affable to be with her people. On 30 October again on the wings, to Zürich in Switzerland. She stayed with Dr. Blanche Christine Olschak, the dynamic Tibetanist, who carried her listeners on the wings of words to the depths of the celestial culture of Tibet. The

soul of Sharada Rani was travelling in the space and metaphors of Tibet as she listened to the impassioned projections of Tibet's visions. Olschak continued: "Lokesh Chandra is my professor from the East. He is my brother. My home is a temple. Never am I angry, living among thangkas. Never even with publishers, though they are the sons of demons". On the last day of October (31.10.72) she undertook a train journey to the Tibetan Monastic Institute, Rikon. It is financed by the owner of a utensil factory. Mr. Thupten W. Phala reminisced about his visit to father with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He was vivid in his memories of the Convention of Tibet organised by father and other friends. Father had drafted the resolution on human rights for Tibet. Now it is a part of international history.

On 1.11.72 visited the Rietberg Museum with Olschak. It had exquisite sculptures of Gandhara, a Pala period Lokeśvara, Śiva and Pārvatī, smiling Lokeśvara from Cambodia, Sukhothai statues from Thailand, the head of a Buddha from Borobudur in black stone, and Gaṇapati from Cambodia. Gaṇapati is all-powerful, a form beyond physical form. Immersed in the autonomy of His vision she left the museum. It was the life-line of sublimation.

Dr. Olschak spoke about the popularity of Swami Onkarananda, President of the Divine Light Centre at Winterthur. He has many disciples in yoga, kuṇḍalinī yoga and tantric yoga. Several of his books have appeared in German. He exhorts his disciples: "Concentrate on the tip of the nose for half an hour, there will be a 'click' in the brain, and you will experience the bliss of paradise". He leads from materialism to spiritualism, in rational, devotional silent meditation. Swami Onkarananda blessed her: "With profound reverence and adorations. May the life of your gifted husband and your life bloom in the fragrance of knowledge, service, more and more". One of his disciples Odette Baumer wanted sandalwood images of Tripurasundarī, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, and Durgā, for transcendental wisdom is expressed in feminine form.

On 2.11.72 saw the ethnographic museum of the University of Zürich where an exhibition on Tibet was on view. Several exquisite thangkas, bronze of Avalokiteśvara and Tripurasundarī from Nepal commanded her special attention. The exhibition techniques were simple, novel and highly effective. She left for Köln by train as the planes could not fly due to hazy skies. The train was extremely cold, but she felt warm once in the home of Sushama-Rakesh. Shopping around in Köln along with Sushama renewed memories of years ago. The fifth of November was Diwali, our festival of lights. She celebrated it for the first time in a foreign land, but in a home, a sweet familial home. The next day she reached Bonn to take a flight to London. She wept in parting from sister-in-law: "there are tears and a wing hidden in the heart of things".

On 7.11.72 the Harekrishna Temple, London was celebrating Govardhan puja. Mount Govardhan was formed by piling up *laḍḍū's*. Indians were present in large numbers, participating in all the rituals. The same day she went to the British Museum where an exhibition of Egyptian art was in progress. The Asian galleries were closed, except one. Its entry was graced by Lord Gaṇapati. A statue from Kashmir had evident Hellenistic influences. Statues from Punjab, Central India, Bengal, Orissa, Nepal, South India were stunning specimens of our artistic heritage. Left London at 5.30 p.m. for the West Air Terminus. Reached Brussels at 9.30 night. In the evening of 8.11.72 departed for Bombay and back home. The sight of dear ones heals the heart, and warms the body after a frozen journey into the cold, the cold of winter and of the absence of dear ones.

In 1975 both of us went to the Soviet Union on the invitation of the Buddhist Patriarch of the USSR, Bandida Hambo Lama, to be pilgrims in the country-wide chariot festival of Maitreya. It is called the Maidar hural 'the congregation of Maitreya' where people await the advent of happier days. It is the energy of inner spaces ridiculing the monstrous images of unreasoning political dogmas. They are the equivalent of Michelangelo's *terribilita*, the awesome expressiveness of the unspoken, the manifest restraint of severity and power seeking a future in the Buddha of the Future, namely Maitreya. On 6.7.75 we boarded Air India bound for Moscow. Mrs. Dolma received us at the airport, and arranged our stay at Hotel Warsaw. At the entrance itself, a gypsy woman, a Romany rawny (रोमनी रानी) wanted to converse with Sharada Rani. The interpreter Inna brushed her aside and swiftly led us in. Sharada Rani shopped at Children's Paradise and the evening was spent witnessing a ballet in the hall inside the Kremlin. The next morning (8.7.75) skimmed the Museum of Oriental Art near the Indian Embassy. It had several hundreds of thangkas. Maṇḍala scrolls of the Vajrāvalī from the collection of Lcaṅ-skya qutuγtu Rol.paḥi.rdo.rje who lived from 1717 to 1786, bore inscriptions naming the maṇḍala and identifying the owner. The Curator Dr. Tulyayev was extremely kind to take out quite a few scrolls and helped her to photograph them. She enjoyed skimming over these imperial treasures and to have their photographs for future study. In the afternoon we were in the home of Prof. Chelyshev, the outstanding expert on India, esp. on Hindi literature. His mother served us tea and cookies with maternal affection, reminiscent of the fond attachment and tender warmth of Indian mothers. The Slavs and Indians use the same form *mātā* and *mat*, and not the un-declined form *māta-r* (English *moth-er*) like the other European languages. The house was decorated with Indian presents received from Indian writers, artists, officials and other friends. In the evening saw the Moscow

Circus, entrancing in its building and in the presentation of a rich fare of animals and acrobatics.

On 9.7.75 drove in a Chaika limousine to the Zagorsk monastery, 160 kilometres away from Moscow. Golden spires, old ladies singing litanies in folk tunes, and every thing silent in the spacious museum. A museum lives when a culture dies. It reminds me of Sebastian, a bodyguard of Emperor Diocletian. He demanded the worship of pagan gods. In return they demanded proselytisation of him. He refused, and was riddled with arrows. He was nursed back to health by St. Irene. Later he has cudgeled to death and buried in the catacombs on the Appian Way. The treasures of Somnath were buried under footsteps in Ghazna. The wheel of Time had moved full circle and the Christian church itself had become sacrilege in Communist Russia. The Church Museum was a sad monument to the annihilation of faith, and the enthronement of violence. Here we saw the shattered, the broken pieces, the attrition of life. But who can uproot the roots of will? In 1988 a new Soviet Union incarnated with the celebration of the millenium of the baptism of Rus: all words of theological and devotional content. We lunched with the monks, where the drinks smelt of pure alcohol. She spent the following day with the interpreter Inna, shopping around. Window-shopping is an exasperating experience in the Soviet Union as the articles displayed outside are not available inside. A soul-less State cannot replace the human urge to create, to become rich. Riches are Mammon, wealth regarded as idol or evil, unrighteous in Matthews 6.24, Luke 16.9-13. In India Lakṣmī the goddess of wealth is the consort of Viṣṇu, the Supreme Being. The biblical perceptions of Mammon have blossomed in the Marxist system. We had to leave for Irkutsk, but the plane had not arrived and we suffered the whole night without sleep, sitting on uncomfortable chairs. The next morning at 7.00 a.m. we left Moscow. We were received at Irkutsk by the representatives of His Holiness Bandida Hambo Lama. They accompanied us upto Ulanude 'City of the Red Gate'. Hambo Lama had returned to his monastery due to the inordinate delay in the flying schedule. Mr. Sanjeyev, Ochirzhap and a lama of Ivolginsky arranged our stay at the Tourist Hotel in Ulanude itself. The next day (12.7.75) was the great chariot-festival (rathayātrā) of Maitreya at Ivolginsky. The Hambo Lama welcomed us with yoghurt, sweet rice with raisins, tea, and sweet cookies. The hall of reception was sanctified by images and scrolls, in the joy and elation of the imaged. We drank *arsiyan*, which is the Mongolian word for bottled mineral water from natural springs. It is from Sanskrit *rasāyana*. We were welcomed in the new temple constructed for the Maitreya celebrations. It had a three-dimensional architectural maṇḍala (pura-maṇḍala) of Sukhāvatī, besides those of Heruka and

Yamāntaka. A photograph of the Tsugolsky monastery hung on the wall: a sad reminder of the grandeur of the first Buryat monastery. Saw the Repository of Gifts, where our edition of the Mongol Kanjur was exhibited on tables at the entrance. Offerings of flowers and coins had sanctified our efforts. The album of our visit in 1967 was also exhibited, when Dr. Kailash Chandra had accompanied us. As I write these lines all is a lightning-flash of memories. Are they substance or force to cleave the clouds? Here we were drinking the air of Siberia, beautiful paradise air.

Out of this great freshness, life will rise one day. That day is dawning after fifteen years, and I am happy that the roots will keep their sap, their soul.

13.7.75. The Hambo Lama gave us presents of thangkas, books, tea-sets, Mongol dress with knives and belts, and a replica of the temple in white wood. This replica is with me, while the temple has perished in a fire when the Hambo Lama was away in Japan. It lacerated the heart of the Hambo Lama: cherry blossoms of Japan turned into ashes of the monastery. No words please, only burnt wood. Back to the temple as it was in July 1975. The main temple of Ivolginsky resounds with prayers, musical instruments, sacred chanting, worship rites going on in profound grace, and thousands of villagers from near and afar thronging the entire *temenos*. The central statue of Buddha touches the earth in bhūmi-sparśa mudrā. Golden miniature Thousand Buddhas surround the central image. Maitreya on a life-size wooden horse standing on a chariot was the main deity of the procession, with a replica of the temple. Hambo Lama in full ecclesiastical robes, topped by an imposing helmet-like hat with long lappets, and four lamas accompanied the chariot in circumambulation of the monastery. The devotees who had come from faraway villages joined the procession. We tried to follow them but insects, flies, mosquitos, and unbearable heat forced us to return from a short distance. The Hambo Lama was back after half-an-hour, red in face and drenched in perspiration. In the afternoon we went to the open-air ethnographic village with old machines, living quarters, animal shelters, wells with equipment to draw water, conical triangular tents of Evenki shamans, all furnished *à la* 18th and 19th centuries. The Russian homes were poor as compared to the Buryat residences rich in artistic furniture, thangka scrolls and elaborate altars with ritual vessels and implements in copper and silver, and carpets of delicate designs. The equipment for horses as well as the fur dresses of the Buryats were of a higher order than their Russian counterparts. Here was also a Buddhist temple removed from a village and a yurt with a small Buddhist altar complete with icons, lamps, offering stands, censers, bells, and vajras. Thereafter we were in the Natural Museum, where a cloisonné image of Tsoṅkhapa reminded Sharada Rani of similar craftsmanship of her home town Jaipur.

On 14.7.75 we were at the Buryat Branch of the Academy of Sciences. The President and Vice-President welcomed us. They spoke of on-going researches on a dictionary, an atlas and a detailed history of the Buryats. Badarayev was comparing stomach diseases in the classic Gyushi with Ayurvedic treatises. In the afternoon we left for Moscow via Irkutsk. To bid us farewell were the Hambo Lama, Sanjeyev, Ochirzhap and Lisa. In the plane an old woman was counting the beads and reciting mantras. At Irkutsk, a guide received us in the special lounge. Purchased cigarettes for Inna and chocolates for Dolma and left for Moscow. Dolma took us straight to the elegant Sovietskaya hotel, where once the gypsies performed belly dances for the nobility. The next day Sharada Rani did her final round of shopping and getting sheets to pack the accumulated books. On the 16.7.75 we were on our way back home. It was to be the last journey of Sharada Rani to the land of the Buryats, this illumined earth which had inscribed her thoughts in black sorrow on the margins of our minds. She had seen the forget-me-nots abloom in the grasses, and she knew that from the darkness will blow a new air of faith, and she will come to sing hymns here in another incarnation. The humility of the grass will be whole again in quiet symbols and songs of icons, when humans become a living MINE.

From December 1977 till April 1978, Dr. L.L. Hundanova from Ulanude stayed with us and worked on the Gyushi and Āyurveda. Back in Buryatia Mr. Thom Rabdanov, the interpreter of the Hambo Lama, used to work with her.

On 15 May 1977 Sharada Rani went to Japan for a second time on the invitation of Dr. Tsuginari Kubo, President of the Reiyukai, for the Kashgar manuscript of the Lotus Sutra. On 18 May she witnessed the solemn recitations of *Namu myoho-renge-kyō* at the Shakaden, with ten thousand devotees in the Hall. It was a day when the image of Shaka is opened for public gaze (*darśana*). A fantastic temple constructed in 1975 it combines classical and modern Japanese architecture in modern materials. The central statue is eight metres high and carved out from a single piece of the trunk of a tree. It took fifteen years to locate such a gigantic tree. R. Kaneko took her to the Toyo Bunko, where scholars were cataloguing the thangkas brought from Tibet in 1914. They were identifying them with the help of Pander, Lokesh Chandra's *Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, and B.C. Olschak. The Dalai Lama XIII had presented a set of the Kanjur and Tanjur to the Japanese monks in 1910s which is now in the Toyo Bunko. She met Prof. Hajime Nakamura, Enoki of Toyo Bunko, and others. She was shown round (21.5.77) the Institute for the Comprehensive Study of the Lotus Sutra by Mr. Ryozo Iwata a student of Prof. Zuiryu Nakamura of the Rissho University. On the fourth floor of the University is a gilded image of standing Śākyamuni and another of Nichiren the founder-sage of the sect. In the afternoon she accompanied Madame

Chikyo Yamamoto to a temple of Vairocana, where service was on for a couple. She visited the Rakanji temple whose central image of Śākyamuni with two disciples, is surrounded by metallic statues of 308 seated arhats (Jap. *rakan*). In the back part of the temple lives the care-taker nun.

22.5.1977. She ascended the Tokyo Tower of the radio and TV networks. From the top she could see the Shakaden of the Reiyukai: eternity playing in the space of Tokyo's skies. Near the Tower was a large temple with images of Jizō/Kṣitigarbha wearing caps and bibs, the angel guarding children of devotees. Suddenly clouds overcast the sky and it began to drizzle. Astonished she looked back, to find a maid of the Grand Hotel holding an umbrella over her.

23.5.77. She spent the day with the daughter and son-in-law of Prof. Chikyo Yamamoto: Mrs. Humi Manabe and Dr. Shunsho Manabe. She saw Manabe's *Maṇḍala*, weighing thirty kilos, with 68 colour plates. The price and weight made it a cold ecstasy.

24.5.77. Stayed in the Hinata Yakushi Temple at Isehara. It belongs to Venerable Sūkō Saiki the brother of Madame Chikyo Yamamoto. Saiki had driven Sharada Rani in his car to the temple. A nun had written a sutra on cloth. A huge wooden statue of Amitābha dominates it. In a nearby old temple is the statue of a Yakṣī. Saiki's temple was newly constructed four years ago. It had replaced the earlier temple where Swami Omanand and I had stayed in 1970.

25.5.77. Left Isehara for Odawara. Mr. Torii of the Reiyukai did not turn up. So departed for Kyoto by the Kodama Super Express with Mrs. Yamamoto. Prof. Yuyama reached in the evening to show her Kyoto and Nara. She purchased large colour enlargements of temple scenes from a handicrafts centre.

26.5.77. Paid respects to the Ohara Sanzenin, the Temple of Three Thousand Statues in the Ohara village. It has statues of Avalokiteśvara and Acala, besides a gilded Amitābha. She got her diary stamped as a token of having performed pilgrimage of this sanctum:

Drove to Mount Hiei, the seat of Tendai Buddhism. On the way saw Ukimido temple with a thousand gilded statues of Amitābha. Built within a lake, it is approached by a bridge. Originally it was a temple of the Jōdō/Pure Land sect, but now it belongs to the Zen denomination. She visited the Kyoto National Museum, where an exhibition on the Juniten was on. The Juniten are twelve Hindu deities in the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala: Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera, Īśāna, Brahman, Pṛthivi, Sūrya and Candra. She purchased the guide to these twelve deities. Went to the Chinese style monastery of Oubakusan Manfukuji at Kyoto, dedicated to the Buddha of the Future, Miroku/Maitreya. There are four divine Great Kings (catur-mahārājika) and the woodblocks of the complete Tripiṭaka carved under the supervision of monk Thichgen (?). Went to two Buddhist bookshops in Teramachi-dori: Kichūdō and Bun-ei-do. Left Kyoto on 27.5.77 for Myoji, the parental home of Prof. Chikyo Yamamoto.

28.5.77. Reached Koyasan from Myoji in the company of Prof. and Mrs. Yamamoto. At the University Library the *Zoku shingonshu zenshō* attracted her attention. Seven out of 44 volumes had been published. The microfiches of the Derge edition of the Kanjur and Tanjur were on sale. Saw the gorgeous paintings of the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas at the Reihokan Museum headed by Prof. Yamamoto. A large and ancient map of Koyasan showed hundreds of monasteries. Large boxes placed in front of the images were flowing with offerings of coins. Buses arrive everyday with visitors, devotees and pilgrims to pay homage to these images with colour, shape and moving life beyond the now. Took a taxi to Gokusho, the place of offerings to Kobo Daishi. It was lit with thousands of lamps, some centuries old and others lighted an hour ago. The recitation of the Heart Sutra of Transcendental Wisdom/Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra was going on, as luminescence of being trembled in ritual grace.

30.5.77. Prof. Yuyama came from Osaka to fetch her from Muroji, to spend a couple of days at the Osaka Branch VIII of the Reiyukai. Mr. Yushun Masunaga explained her the working of the Reiyukai in detail. She was warmly welcomed with lots of gifts and sumptuous meals.

31.5.77. Visited the Shitennoji or Temple of the Four Great Kings which was constructed by Prince Shotoku on the introduction of Buddhism in Japan. It has a sitting Amitābha and murals illustrate the birth, renunciation, and nirvāṇa of Śākyamuni. Prof. Katsuro Koga welcomed her at the Osaka University of Foreign Studies. He teaches Hindi. Every year 18 students of Hindi are admitted to gradute in four years. She sang the hymn to Sarasvatī and the Japanese anthem, and the students

responded by a Japanese song. Took photographs at the Horyuji and Yukushiji/ Monastery of Bhaiṣajyaguru.

1.6.77. Returned by air to Tokyo from Osaka with Prof. Yuyama. Stayed at the International House of Japan. Got the colour films printed.

2.6.77 Prof. Yuyama rang that her brother, Lr. Ishwar Prakash was in Tokyo on his way to the USA. She made a round of Tokyo with him, sputniking in the gleam of life. As he greeted her with the salutation "Ram Ram", she responded: "the space of Japan has been sanctified by the emanence of Rāma".

3.6.77. Purchased Prof. Hajime Nakamura's dictionary of Buddhist terms, and wrote a letter of thanks to Dr. T. Kubo, President of the Reiyukai. In return he presented her a mini tape-recorder.

4.6.77. The scholars and staff of the Reiyukai had gone to the Maitreya mountain. Purchased the Photographic Elevations of Japanese Buddhist Statues from Maruzen. In the afternoon, the Reiyukai Library recorded her recitations of the Lotus Sutra, Heart Sutra and the hymn to Sarasvatī. Dined at the residence of Prof. Yuyama. The charming and slim Mrs. Yuyama had worked hard to prepare a rich vegetarian fare.

5.6.77. President Kubo and Yuyama took her to the Haneda airport. They helped to book her baggage and very kindly and silently paid for her extra kilos of books and photographs. She wrote: "I do not want to leave Japan. Such sweet and polite persons are not to be found anywhere in the world". She reached Hongkong airport by 4.30 p.m. and was received by Mr. Ashok Kumar Rakyan. Went sight-seeing and shopping.

10.6.77. Reached Bangkok. The next day Mr. Pongsak Tantianon and his sister Suchada (=Sujata) Tantianon took her in their car to see the Emerald Buddha Temple, with its murals of the Rāmāyaṇa. They were being re-painted beautifully by an old artist. Some old people could be seen in Indian style *dhoti* in the precincts of the temple. It stands in the Grand Palace, built in AD 1785 by King Rama I. Most spectacular group of buildings, it is guarded by towering yakṣas, over twenty feet high. She went to the Wat Po or Temple of the Reclining Buddha. The Traditional Medical College Association is located in this temple. A golden image of the Buddha is seated on the coils of Mucilinda whose seven hoods guard the Master. Another large gilded image of the Buddha in bhūmi-sparśa mudrā is surrounded by five disciples facing Him in salutation. An imposing gilded image of the Reclining Buddha, 160 feet long, attracts the devotion of the Thais. Mr. Tantianon showed her the temples of Bangkok in loving detail. He had stayed with us in Delhi for fourteen months.

12.6.77. Mr. Chintamani Tripathi, explained to her the attitude of the Thais

towards modern India. He works in the Boon Wanit Travel Agency. Boon Wanit is *Puṇya Vaṇik* in Sanskrit, an auspicious name and their business has always been expanding. Left for Delhi in the evening at 8.45 p.m. with a set of votive tables for enshrining the photograph of father Prof. RaghuVira. That was not to be. Strange destiny that now her own photograph leans on these frail gold-and-red tables, her quiet hands folded in greeting.

In this year appeared her *Buddhist Tales of Kashmir in Tibetan Woodcuts*, the xylographic illustrations of Kṣemendra's Avadāna-kalpalatā. This series of 31 was caused to be cut in the first half of the 18th century by Gyur.med.ye.śes.rtse.brtan at the Narthang printery. When the structures, murals and images of the great Kashmiri convents were lost, their agony of the void became the Avadāna-kalpalatā. It found a new epiphany in the work of Tibetan artists in all the purity of faith and faithfulness. They exemplify some of the disciplinary injunctions of the Vinaya and inculcate the pāramitā perfections as a preparation to supreme Enlightenment. To paint is to evoke.

She completed the facsimile edition of the *Kriyāsaṅgraha* by Kuladatta, a manual of tantric rites. It details the characteristics of a guru and his disciples, the construction and consecration of a monastery, drawing of maṇḍalas, omens, empowerment of images, various mudrās and other ritualia.

The year 1978 was of publication, her last publications. From Nepal we had brought a manuscript of the Skanda-purāṇa in 1959. She completed its facsimile edition after nearly two decades. She had purchased a number of traditional Mantrayāna texts in Japan. One of them was a manual of mudrās. The Japanese names of the hand postures were translated, indexed and prefaced by a historical survey. The book appeared under the title *Mudrās in Japan*. The mudrās crystallise a trans-material state for meditation. Alongwith mantra and samādhi, they are the three mysteries of esoterism.

She received an invitation from Cok. Rai Sudharta of Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat, Denpasar: "The Hindus in Indonesia are going to perform the Centenary Ceremony of the Besakih Temple in Bali, the Mother Temple of all the Hindus in Indonesia. This kind of ceremony is performed only once in a hundred years. We, hereby, invite you to come to Indonesia to witness and participate in the Ceremony". Once in a century, and the last once of her life. The Balinese wanted to have an elephant, a garuḍa, and other animals, but above all holy water of the river Ganga from India. Sharada Rani took up the challenge to carry the holy water of Ganga to Bali for the ceremony of Ekadasa Rudra/Eleven Rudras. Saṅ hyaṅ Widhi Wasa and His manifestation as Rudra Siwa is omnipresent. He is found everywhere in all directions: east,

south, west, north, southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast, nadir (down), zenith (up) and at the center, eleven in all. These eleven directions signify total space. Several texts say that Ekadasa Rudra is a "bringer of good fortune to the world" (*pamahayu jagat*). It brings harmony to the world in both its aspects: the world of nature (*macrocosm*) and the world of man (*microcosm*). These two aspects are covered by the ceremonies Taur Ekadasa Rudra and Mapedanan respectively. An aim of the festival is to affect and strengthen the spiritual life of those taking part, leading to harmony, justice, and prosperity.

Left Delhi on 18.3.79 for Bombay, en route to Singapore and Jakarta by Garuda Airways. As she was changing her plane at Jakarta for Denpasar, she could hear Governor Mantra calling out her name: Sharada Rani, Sharada Rani..... Mantra had come to Jakarta to attend a meeting of the Red Cross. For an hour and a half they conversed on the plane: memories drifting along, as time passed by un-noticed. The next day (20.3.79) Governor Mantra deputed his assistant Mr. Widia to show her the ethnological collections at the Museum Bali. It was established on 8 December 1932 and has rich holdings of masks, dresses, leather shadow puppets, wooden puppets of the many dance forms. A mask of siddha karya (awighnam astu), puppets of heros and persons in the Ramayana and Mahabharata, and of comical characters are a treasure. Outside the Museum, women from villages come to sell paintings and wood carvings, as of the Ramayana.

The pavilions of Pura Jagannath temple at Denpasar were humming with activities. Boys and girls were practising gamelan in their traditional dresses for the Ekadasa Rudra. The whole of Bali was permeated by the spirit of the Ekadasa Rudra. Holy water (toya tirta) had been brought from Mount Sumeru and kept in a pavilion in bamboo vessels, with pennants streaming like banana leaves. The Jagannath temple has seven terraces. A golden images of Saṅ Hyaṅ Tuṅgal Acintya is consecrated on a pedestal on the seventh terrace. She stayed in the Governor's guest house which bore the name *Praja mukti*. Visited the Arts Centre of Bali where music and dance are taught. It had paintings and statues of famous artists and its walls bore low reliefs of the heros of the Ramayana and Mahabharata. Denpasar is green all-round. Road crossings are sanctified by stone statues. Statues guard the residence of the Governor. In the evening she accompanied Governor and Madame Mantra to view the toya tirta at the Jagannath Temple. The pedanda performed worship in darkness on the first floor of the Temple.

21.3.79. Angkasaputra is a gifted young artist who stayed at the International Academy of Indian Culture for an year and drew illustrations of the Smaradahana. He

came to take Sharada Rani to Chandi Dasa in Ubug-ubug village, on the sea shore. It runs a primary school for children, besides a meditation centre and library. On the way back, she stopped at the house of Angkasaputra. Instead of rooms it had small cottages around a tank with fishes, and reminded of villages in Bengal. The names of his family members were:

Father: Ida Bagus Ketut Punya
Sisters: Hemawati, and Rekhawati
Wife: Suksma
Daughters: Yuni Susilawati, Lasamari, and Putri.

22.3.79. Angkasaputra guided her to the residence of Phalguna's elder brother Anak Agung Ketut Agong. As she handed the letter of Phalguna, his face lit up with affection. The home was full of children: seven sons and two daughters: Putri Ambarawati and Sri Laksmidewi. His son Yudi Arnawa, 18 years, was studying Law. In a Chinese style chapel was Tuhan Maha Esa. She visited the old residence of Phalguna where hung a photograph of Cokorda Ngurah Gede Pemecutan. It had an old temple and a soft stone statue of Sarasvati. Phalguna has eleven brothers who have fiftyfive male descendants. The temple has the images of Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu. Three were several temples of ancestors, wherein rice was stored. In front of each temple was a rostrum on which priests sat for worship. Met king Cokorda Ngurah Gede Pemecutan who is a descendant of the Majapahit dynasty. He had eight queens with eight daughters and sixteen sons. He is well versed in lontars and teaches the younger generations to read them.

23.3.79. Went to see Punyatmaja Oka and his wife Ida Ayu Ketut Ratih. Ratih put her head on the shoulder of Sharada Rani and started crying. Punyatmaja said: "The soul of Acarya RaghuVira is bringing you together. He is seeing us from somewhere. I see him roaming on the hills of Bali". He also started crying. The inane tears resurrects love to unfold the soul. Underneath the cry of tears, is the silence of body, clamouring for the assertive love of time *sans* end. Oka is the first deputy chairman of the Ekadasa Rudra Committee and coordinator of performances. Visited Sudharta at his residence and met the prince of Klungkung. Besakih Temple is their domain.

24.3.79. The main procession bearing the gods represented by their respective statues or symbols began the 30 km. long walk to the sea coast of Klotok. People from villages around Besakih accompany the gods. All houses, community places, temples and village boundaries have erected decorated bamboo poles to welcome the gods of Besakih on their way to Klotok. Ceremonies were held at nine places: the coasts in the east, south, west and north, Lake Batur, on the summit of Mount Agung, at Pura

Pangubengan Besakih (directed to the Heavens, Akasa) and at Pura Bangun Sakti and Pura Manik Mas, both at Besakih (these last two temples are directed to the Earth/ Pertiwi). Their aim is to purify the pañca-mahābhūta: earth, water, fire, air and ether. Ceremonies at the sea coasts are directed to Varuṇa/God of the Sea.

Besakih is derived from the cosmic dragon Vāsuki. It was established by Resi Markandeya. The atmosphere here is hallowed by pendandas ringing the bells, and sprinkling holy water in all directions. Countless people throng the precincts and beyond, everywhere the eyes can behold. Women carried decked offerings on their heads. Sharada Rani could not go to the top as she was not dressed in Balinese style. Foreigners were not allowed to go to the sanctum. Angkasaputra went up to obtain special permission for her to go in a saffron sari. She had purchased it in Bali itself, for this day. Procession of the gods (represented as mantras, symbolic syllables, or simply SA BA TA A I on palm leaf) was a magnificent sight. Now and then she could make out mantras:

Oṁ ādityaśiva parama-jyoti rakta-teja namo 'stu te/
śveta-paṅkaja-madhyastha bhāskarāya namo namaḥ/
Oṁ hrāṁ hrīṁ saḥ parama-śivādityāya namaḥ svāhā/

Thousands sat motionless in meditation, even children wrapt in out-of-heaven grace. Her experiencing mind conjured up radiant visions of the wholeness of dharma once vibrant in India. Bali provided ripples of that eternal time. Bali was the celebrating heart, for which she sought a thinking word.

On the way back from Besakih she visited Pura Kĕhĕn of the 12th century. Here was an old banyan tree with hundreds of branches coming down. In them was a wooden structure for a huge temple bell.

26.3.79. Went to Bank Rayat Indonesia whose manager was Ida Bagus Pidada. He recited the stotra to Ganga in the bank itself on hearing that she had brought the holy water of Ganga for the Centenary. On the way to Kintamani she saw the Pĕjĕng and Panataran Sasih Temples. The entrance to the latter had an offering (*sadrasa gapura ning devantara*). Kamboja trees were in bloom. Tirtha Ampul had pure and crystal clear water. The volcano Batur is active: smoke was coming out of its crater. Its lava drops down into the lake below and solidifies as a black porous stone used in the construction of roads and walls. Now she was at Kintamani (=Sanskrit Cintāmaṇi) dedicated to the goddess of Lake Batur as the goddess of prosperity. The temple is called Pura Ulundanu Batur. At the entrance is Gaṇapati.

27.3.79. Returning from the Lake saw processions of offerings on their way to Besakih. Went to Dr. Punyatmaja Oka to get a copy of her edition of Ślokāntara for

presentation to President Suharto at the main ceremony tomorrow. Punyatmaja said again: "On seeing you, tears well up in the eyes of my wife Ratih. Prof. RaghuVira has incarnated in Bali. He is shedding tears of joy through my wife."

28.3.79. The festival climaxes today as Taur Ekadasa Rudra. It is a great sacrifice aimed at purifying and harmonizing the world and everything in it. It redeems all negative forces or elements and allows them to regain their divine forms. Another important ceremony that takes place not far from the taur enclosure is the mapedanan. Just as the Taur Ekadasa Rudra is directed towards the purification of the macrocosm, the world of nature, so the mapedanan ceremony is directed towards the microcosm, mankind. Ceremonies to celebrate this last day of the Saka century are held throughout Bali.

Early in the morning at 6.30 a.m. Sharada Rani left for Besakih. On the way are shops with fascinating Sanskrit names, like Sukhawati, taken from classical texts. Mrs. Wijayanti and Mr. Angkasaputra are in her car. Unending rows of devotees carry offerings decked on their heads. The cars have to stop, even that of the Governor, because the crowds are swelling and there is no room on the roads. There is a pavilion for guests of honour, another for dance and gamelan. Ministers and ambassadors of several countries are eagerly awaiting the arrival of President.Suharto. India's Ambassador Mr. Mishra and his wife are also present. Governor Mantra welcomes all and seats them on the mats. What a sea of humanity to welcome the new century of the Saka era awakening to the Divine! The President has arrived from Jakarta. He is welcomed with flowers by young girls. Special festive dresses of different regions, girls with scintillating coronets, slopes of mountains in the distance, pedandas ringing bells, overflow of flags, warriors in traditional dress with swords and tridents, recitation of sacred hymns: what a welcome to the dawning century. Pedanda Kemenuh is with the President. As the sound of hymns dims, gamelan is played loud and sonorous. Sharada Rani sat near the President, who already knew that she had brought the holy water from India. The President greeted her warmly. Madame Suharto asked: "Do you have it in India too? Does your President participate in it?" She gave Sharada Rani toffees from her purse. The President went to the other pavilion to address the people. A correspondent of the Geographical Magazine interviewed her. So also Bali Post, Bali Radio and Bali Television. Worship over, she left with Wijayanti and Angkasaputra, but traffic jams held them for hours.

29.3.79. Today is the first day of the new century. It is *nyepi*, the Day of Quiet which occurs every year. Hindus throughout Indonesia must observe various prohibitions from sunrise of this day to the sunrise of the following day. These prohibitions

are: one may not light fires or lamps, day or night; one may not work; one may not go out from one's house; and one may not be noisy or make disturbances. Ideally one performs meditation in the house temple. This Day of Quiet is the purification of body and soul, to welcome the new Saka year 1901. The Gods are coming down to Bali in her silence and peace. Governor Mantra, members of his family, Sharada Rani and everybody is sitting silent in dark at his residence. The lights will not be on.

30.3.79. Spent the day looking around art shops in villages, with Drs.I Gusti Putu Rai Andrayana, a nephew of Phalguna. She could not find a painting or screen depicting the Ramayana. Paintings of naked beauties, specially of seven apsaras, were common. Kitsch art in the island of culture!

31.3.79. Saw the barong and kris dances at the village of Batu Bulan. The government-run emporium Sangraha Kriya Hasta had exquisite statues of white wood, with equally exquisite prices. A 1.25 meter statue of Rama and Sita with the deer was out of this world, and its price just a thousand dollars. This was her last day and final farewell to Bali. Had she not come to bid bye to the last day of the previous Saka century. She had lost her heart in this island of Dharma, where she was never to set foot again in this life. The whole family of Governor Mantra, Dr. Punyatmaja, and Angkasaputra brought her to the airport. She left for Surabaya at 4.15 p.m. At the other end, Mr. Kundan Lal, his daughter-in-law, grand-son and grand-daughter welcomed her with flowers. She was in an Indian home.

1.4.79. Went to the Guru Mandir, where Dharmadeva was teaching Hindi and Hinduism to Sindhi children. Sharada Rani recited Sanskrit hymns and Hindi songs for the children. Went to the Museum but the director Drs. R. Prayoga Karta was out of town. Went to a village to buy statues but they were far too expensive. At 8.00 in the evening she spoke at the Guru Mandir.

3.4.79. Mr. Sucipto of the Surabaya Museum took her to Chandi Jago, consecrated to King Viṣṇuvardhana of the Singhasari dynasty either in 1268 or twelve years later in 1280. The stories of Tantri, Kuñjarakarṇa, Pārthayajña, Arjunavivāha and Kṛṣṇāyana decorate the temple. She went to Chandi Kidal, finished around 1260 in memory of King Arushapati of Singhasari. The main image is of Śiva. Liṅga-yoni and several stone images had been arranged in a line. She saw the Chandi Singasari, founded to commemorate King Kṛtanagara who died in 1292. Only one niche had an image while those of other niches were taken to Leiden. She came to Pandaan where a Buddhist candi was restored from 1975 to 1979. The International Ramayana Festival was held here.

4.4.79. Got up early in the morning at 4.00 a.m. and went to the airport. Waited for three hours but there was no flight to Yogya or Solo. Returned to the residence of Mr. Kundan Lal. It was the Durgāṣṭamī festival. Went to the Sindhi temple to sing prayers to Durgā: such was the will of the Goddess, that is why all flights were cancelled. In the evening visited the temple of the deity Jobo Dolo, who grants all wishes. Javanese pray and offer him their garment to get a bride. The priest prays with incense, etc. In the Taman Krida Bala or children's park, she and Mrs. Minu the daughter-in-law of Mr. Kundan Lal enjoyed riding the swing.

5.4.79. Left for Yogyakarta at 6.15 a.m. and stayed there at Toko Kohinoor. Visited Chandi Mendut and finally Borobudur in the midst of green mountains. Sat at the topmost terrace for an hour imbibing the pure ozone-laden air, and vast panoramas of divine poesy of Bukit Manoreh and other mountain ranges. The heart-beats of the worshipped and perfecting Absolute inspired her to write a poem: if I were lost from you, you'll find me again in your words. Borobudur is heaven's gift, quiet in the hills, living in the offering of our dreams. It breathes in prayer, in the flare of the immortal.

6.4.79. Saw the ninth-century Chandi Loro Joṅgraṅ at Prambanan, with its central statue of Śiva. Buddhist influences are apparent in the number thousand (on the pattern of Chandi Sewu) and the small stupa-like architectural elements. It was the royal temple with the Trimūrti: Brahmā the creator, Viṣṇu the protector, and Śiva the destroyer. The main Śiva temple in the centre has Agastya as Mahāguru, Gaṇeśa and Durgā on the three outer walls. Left for Jakarta at 12.00 noon. In the evening met Mr. & Mrs. Sunardi, formerly in the Embassy at Delhi, who were delighted to welcome her in their home.

7.4.79. The son of Governor Mantra drove her to the Gandhi Memorial School in his airconditioned car agog with taped music. Visited the Museum Pusat and photographed some images.

8.4.79. Left Jakarta for Singapore at 1.30 p.m. by Garuda Airways. Stayed at the spacious Ramakrishna Mission. Swami Siddhatmananda welcomed her. Spent the next day at Kumra & co., recited Sanskrit hymns in their chapel and dined with them.

10.4.79. Left for Bangkok by Singapore Airlines. Was sad that the few dollars she had, had to be spent on excess baggage. She felt pleased to have been in the Pulau Dewata 'Island of Gods', and on Mount Besakih. The mountains are seats of celestial hierophanies, the abodes of gods, and a natural environment that inspires illumination. Mr. Tantianon and his sister Suchada received her at the airport, put her up in a hotel and took her to an Indian restaurant at Bangkok. On 11.4.79 she rang to felicitate on my birthday. To find an appropriate birthday gift she looked around in Bangkok: for

an IBM typewriter with memory, a copying machine and met Mr. Ferguson of the Craftsman Press for desk-top publishing equipment. All was expensive, beyond our pockets. The night slipped in and dreams went to sleep.

12.4.79. Went around temples to take snaps. On the way she encountered the motorcade of the King. The roads were closed for a few minutes and the traffic was resumed soon. She strolled in a number of temples with Suchada. Left Bangkok and arrived at Delhi 12.50 midnight (or morning, if English idiom so pleases). We received her and she heard the heart-beats of her land after treading many shores, seas, mountains and forests, remote and intimate in her seeking spirit. In the distance of a memory loomed the beautiful island of Bali, the Magic Island, the Island of a Thousand Temples, the Island of Paradise, the Morning of the World.

The year 1980 was unlucky for Sharada Rani. She broke her ankle and was hospitalised for six months. Unable to walk, she thought of the mountains of Bali which speak the voices of their/our gods. It began her long ill-health with hemiplegia, diabetes, arthritis, failing kidney and most of the trappings of life in disarray. Moments of time slipping away through ruined serenity as she raised her hands in prayer. The nodding silent prayer: was it life or only a poem. Blessed was her heart wherein were honoured the sacraments from Siberia to Indonesia. In October 1982 Dr. Karan Singh came back doe-eyed after a visit to Bali. Governor Mantra had given him the printed album of Ekadasa Rudra. Sharada Rani was in two photographs. She was happy that the Balinese had her in their hearts. She was thrilled to read Dr. Karan Singh in the limpid flow of his earnest prose: "The great Shankaracharya founded his four tirthas in the four corners of India, and by doing so re-established and strengthened the spiritual and cultural unity of India. Today, twelve centuries later, the world has shrunk in time and space. While the ancient Hindus must have taken weeks to get to the end of the Indonesian archipelago, it is now only a few jet hours away from Delhi. Surely we should now set up four great Hindu tirthas in the corners of the world to expand our consciousness to global dimensions. And if this is done, the reconstructed Prambanan would certainly be one of the four, with the island of Bali lying like a lush jewel just off the mainland of Java, a living symbol of the unconquerable vitality of Hinduism".

The decade 1980-90 was spent in the hospital, in bed, in music, in reminiscences and a longing to be in Bali once again before her final journey to Sukhavati, the Western Paradise of Amitābha in the Pure Land denomination of China and Japan. In 1984, she became a life member of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Thoughts and dreams, pieces and fragments, force and fury of luck, feelings and future, the wilting

flowers preventing flowering, eternal solitude immobilising song, sound and hymn were proems of an end. She tried for an outburst of the will to restructure, to construct. A night of January became empty and dumb, she was an exile from healing and happiness. On 20 January 1990 the end came and she had gone. In the onrushing torrents of shattered life, I wrote: Darling, you have chosen to go and you've gone: not to be touched, not to be seen, beyond the material into the transcendant. Share with me the dreams we cherished for our Dharma in your blessings from the heavenly fields. In your thinking pondering love, lend me the meaning that I often saw through your eyes. Through time's surgeonry, send a kiss of calm. While your body sleeps, let me climb to the breathless heights of Doing. Beyond flesh and bone, transmit light to transmute me into an instrument of Dharma to the surprise of this illumined earth. Be classic in the myth of time. The holy fires have carried you away from the aisles of life, offer a silvery spray to history.

"We have trotted the globe in quest of India's glory, her self-being, her *svoboda*, her *svabhūti*, sprung from her own soil. Admired the sculptures from Central India and Kashmir, and the divine stuccos and schists from Gandhara at the British Museum. Wondered at the breath-taking East-Asian images at Boston. The purity of line and the skill of rendition of the Cambodian statues at the Musée Guimet has held us enthralled in Paris. Together we have ransacked Belgian, Swiss and German museums and universities for the immense Mongolian heritage derived from Sanskrit texts. As you researched Indonesian literature in the Classical Kawi language, we found spells to admire the creative flow of forms in the plaster-casts of Indonesian monuments at the Tropical Museum, Amsterdam (Netherlands). The Hermitage Museum at Leningrad held us captive in its endless galleries of art treasures of the world. We have witnessed together the ratha-yātrā of Maitreya at the Ivolginsky monastery in trans-Baikalian Siberia. Reveries and substances have summoned meaning across time in the museums and monasteries of Mongolia as we stood together, eyes wide with wonder. The cultural richesse of Indonesia was your forte. Alone you viewed the overflowing of the spirit in the endless reliefs of the Borobudur, and suddenly missed me in the rapture of a vision and wrote a poem that is a silhouette of the sublime. A solitary pilgrim to Japan's ethereal aroma of Śākyamuni, Sanskrit and Sutras, you collected the iconography of deities like Gaṇeśa, Umā-Maheśvara, Nārāyaṇa, their mantras and mudrās. The mudrās we put together in a conjointly authored book. As an inheritor of the legacy of father-in-law late Prof. RaghuVira, you sought the poesy of India's culture in the inner bastions of Asian lands.

"You leave a heritage of six published works on Indonesia, Tibet, Nepal and

Japan. The *Ślokāntara* and *Wratiśāsana* are, in the words of Prof. Jan Gonda, "a new piece of evidence of her zeal, assiduity and scholarship. By this achievement she has deserved the gratitude of all those scholars interested in the literary and religious history of Greater India". The *Buddhist Tales of Kashmir in Tibetan Woodcuts* remind of you lost in the agony of the void of the murals of the Avadāna-kalpalatā in the Kashmiri convents of the tenth century. Your facsimile editions of the *Kriyā-saṅgraha* and *Skanda-purāṇa* evoke our 1959 visit to Nepal nestling in the lap of the gods.

"Your haunting lilt of the hymn to Twentyone Tārās in the Siberian monastery of Ivolginsky drew a spontaneous response from the Buddhist Patriarch of the Soviet Union: "So do the goddesses sing in heaven". Today as you empty our saṁsāra to be a goddess in the world of divine Tārā, the words of Guru Padmasambhava come to mind: "If she develops the mind bent on Enlightenment, the woman's body is better". You are a purity in space playing with enduring moments."

Grief-stricken messages from Indonesiologists all over the world poured in. My response: "Your letter kindles candles in the sombre shades of my mind bewildered in the love I knew, now lost in death. Memories are rich in little things, in fleeting moments when we felt the breath of statues or heard the ancient voices of palmleaf manuscripts as we studied them together. Many thoughts flit across with lingering creativities of our minds that sought together tremors of elation in unravelling unsolved equations of time. While her body sleeps and her soul climbs to the heights of angels, her memories are the trembling hues of my being. Your affection washes the wounds of her death. How can I thank you for the fond tenderness and caring kindness of your words?"

Sent a letter to colleagues in Indonesian studies, for a volume of contributions on the Classical Hindu-Buddhist period of Indonesia's history, including contemporary wayang, music, customs and rituals (e.g. of Lara Kidul): in fact all that continues the Classical moorings of Indonesia. It was to commemorate her studies. She edited the didactic text of Ślokāntara in Old Javanese with variants, English translation, comparison with Sanskrit and Tibetan, and extensive notes. Her second printed work is the Old Javanese Wratiśāsana. The draft of her work on Piṭṛ-pūjā texts remains to be completed.

It is empty time, without words, with its share of pain, as absence wells up within. She was the queendom of the ineffable heart as it blossomed in the Classical art and literature of Indonesia. She walked among the ancient monuments and living Balinese temples to grasp the intangibles, the invisible poetry of Kavīśvara or the prose of the unknown author of the Parvas, the unveiling of the secrets of the Boro-

budur, the light living inside lontars, stirring the ample heart of the Nation of Isles, as windows of her mind opened to truth. She the ephemeral has closed her eyes to open to the silence of statues that sleep in the light of her being. She strove to give the world new eyes to see the heart-work of Indonesia's culture, so that in the *Urgrund* of the celestial relative of these myriad isles, humanity may renew and refresh the emblems of the unknown.

This volume is offered by friends and kin to be a symbol of legend and history for which she toiled with her inner self. It is solar honey from the tonality of the absorption of scholars into the thousand flowers of the Archipelago, from its dreaming azure, from thoughts wherein light rests in its scintillation.

MAIN EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF MRS. SHARADA RANI

1929 1 Dec. born as the daughter of Mr. Kailash Bahadur and Mrs. Vidyavati Mathur
1947 High School
1948 Intermediate
1950 B.A., Sahitya-ratna
1952 M.A.
Brothers: Narayan Prakash Mathur, Dr. Ishwar Prakash Mathur, Shiva Prakash Mathur, Basant Prakash Mathur, and Vijay Prakash Mathur
Sisters: Dr. Shakuntala Bhatnagar, Kumud Mathur
1953 Married to Dr. Lokesh Chandra on 22 June
1957 Ślokāntara published
D. Litt. from the State University of Utrecht on 1 March
Travelled in Italy, Netherlands, England, France, Czechoslovakia, USSR, Mongolia, Afghanistan
Returned to Delhi on 26 May
1959 Articles for the Hindi encyclopaedia Viśvagyan-Koś
Fieldwork in Nepal
1961 Wratiśāsana published
Represented the International Academy of Indian Culture at the Centenary of the Archaeological Survey of India
1963 Prof. RaghuVira passed away on 14 May
Secretary, International Academy of Indian Culture
1966 Member, Metropolitan Council
Member, Child Welfare Board (1968-70)

1967 Visited the USSR in June to study Buddhism in trans-Baikalian Buryatia
1968 Research visit to Japan, Hongkong, Thailand in Oct.-Nov.
Member, Governing Body, Bhagat Singh College
1970 Research visit to Indonesia, Singapore, Australia in Dec.-Jan.
1971 Examiner in Old Javanese, Banaras Hindu University
1972 Travelled to Belgium, USA, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Germany
1973 Examiner of Ph. D., University of Delhi
1975 Second visit to the USSR to participate in the Maitreya festival
1977 Publ. Buddhist Tales of Kashmir in Tibetan Woodcuts
Kriyāsaṅgraha
Visit to Japan on the invitation of President T. Kubo of the Reiyukai in May
1978 Publications: Skandapurāṇa
Mudrās in Japan
1979 Visited Indonesia to participate in the Ekadasa Rudra or celebration of the new Saka century (1901)
1984 Life Member, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta
1990 Passed away on 20 Jan.

TRANSLATING THE ART OF MUSIC*

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Art and the equipment to grasp it
are made in the same shop
Clifford Geertz

Look at the picture for a while, if you will, even if you cannot read the Javanese writing on it. It is a picture on a calendar for the months of November and December 1978. I remember Judith and I were talking then about the likeness between the structure of Javanese music, the way plots of shadow plays are put together, and the way calendars work. In them all, to put it very abstractly, simultaneous cycles regularly coincide, sometimes all at once, sometimes in partial coincidences. This single principle seemed to make these various things (music, text-building, and time-reckoning) resemble each other. It seemed then that this is the way cultural coherence works: a few deep metaphors bind various things together, make them resonate and mutually reinforce each other, and make the world seem orderly, reasonable, and harmonious.

The picture on the calendar for the months of November and December 1978 was opaque for us then. We could sound out the writing and recongnize some words, but we did not know what it was a picture of or what the language meant. At the bottom was written, "*cuplikan*, SASTRA GENDHING, 'quoted from *The Art of Music*'."

Most of the words turned out to be some fairly well-known verses about music and musicians from the *Serat Centhini*, the great, early-nineteenth-century work of philosophical poetry attributed to Sultan Paku Buwana V.[1] This essay is about translating those verses, as they are shaped and framed in the picture, with an eye to revealing some of the problems of translating Javanese writing.

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[1] The *Serat Centhini (Serat Tjentini)* was published in four volumes by the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Batavia in 1912-1915. The verses discussed here appear in the fourth volume, page 203 (canto 276, verses 43 and 44). They are translated and discussed in Jaap Kunst's *Music in Java* (1973, 267-69). See also Pigeaud's *Literature of Java* (1967, 1:228-29), and R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka's *Kapustakan Djawi* (1952).

There are two major ways of translating poetry from a distant language: looking up the words in dictionaries, and asking people for whom the poetry is transparent to explain it. Both seem to be necessary in that they correct each other: dictionaries are often too abstract, while people are often too particular. Both methods are used in figure 1, below. In that figure, beneath the words from the calendar, which have been transliterated in roman letters (itself a major kind of translation),[2] I have listed some of the definitions of these words given in various Dutch, English, German, and French dictionaries. Also included are the explanations of several knowledgeable Javanese scholars, given to us informally when we asked about this particular picture. As is common when one defines words informally, they frequently used similes to sharpen their definitions. (See, for example, in figure 1, the explanation for one of the first words, "[It is] like a kite on a long string, out of control)." Dictionaries, on the other hand, seldom use similes at all. Similes are very helpful in that they connect words to *particular* contexts. I hope the similes and other personal glossings included in the figure will be useful to the reader, to whom I am going to present the raw materials for a translation rather than the translation itself. I hope you will see many possible English poems emerging from the Javanese words written on our calendar.

The first verse is found in the box at the top of the picture, with double-tailed cakra arrows on each side. The verse is in a Javanese poetic form called *kinanthi*, but even to call it a poetic form must give us pause. In modern English, highly serious, important things (such as science, philosophy, history, and the news) are presented in prose, a prose in which much of the potential aesthetic impact has been intentionally restrained. Further, it is not a prose that the reader is expected to memorize verbatim, and hence to hear as well as to see. In most of Southeast Asia, on the other hand, learning until recently was first of all memorizing, and scholars were also poets in the everyday sense of the word: they expressed themselves with skill in well-known poetic forms. Indeed, a basic test of the validity of a notion. I often was told, its suitability for shaping in a traditional poetic form. Until it was so shaped, it was not knowledge. One glimpses here the tremendous political power implicit in traditional forms of language.

The traditional form of language called a *kinanthi* is six lines long; each line, in principle, is eight syllables long. Each line must end with a syllable that contains a certain vowel sound: the first line must end with a syllable containing the vowel *u*, the second with *i*, the third with *a*, the fourth with *i* again, the fifth with *a*, and the sixth with another

[2] For a discussion of the ways meaning changes under transliteration, see A. L. Becker 1983.

i. As one hears kinanthi over and over, one comes to recognize the sound of it: *u,i,a,i,a,i,... u,i,a,i,a,i,... u,i,a,i,a,i*. Because traditional Javanese verse is meant to be sung, several melodies also are associated with the kinanthi form.[3]

Figure 1 is a poetic paradigm of the kinanthi at the top of the calendar picture. Distionary definitions of problematic words are rendered in italics; personal glosses by Javanese readers are in quotation marks.[4]

Figure 1

Line 1 (eight syllables, *u* vowel)

KODHENG	ANDHENDHENG	GUMENDHUNG
wall-eyed, bewildered	*stubborn, obstinate*	"conceited"
	"follows own wishes"	*to boast*
"lost memory"		
	grand, étendu	"show off"
niet (meer) weten wat er van te denken, er niets van begrijpen	"like a kite on a long string, out of control"	*mal, ijdel grootspreken*
	zich in de lengte uitstrekken, en traag, langwijlig, voortmaken	
"lost mind"		

[3] See, for example, Prawiradihardja 1939: 11; *Tembang Djawa* 1943: 14.78; Tjitrosomo 1949:89; Hardjasubrata 1951: 21, 22; Wignjosoeworo 1957: 7; and Kodiron 1968: 5.

[4] The dictionaries used are: for English, Elinor Clark Horne, *Javanese-English Dictionary* (1974); for Dutch, Th. Pigeaud, *Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek* (1938), and J. T. C. Gericke and T. Roorda, *Javaansch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek* (1901); for French, Plieppe Etienne Lazare Farre, *Dictionnaire javanais français* (1870); and for German, Hans Herrfurth, *Djawanisch-deutches Wörterbuch* (1972). I am grateful to Alan Feinstein for providing most of the dictionary references.

Line 2 (eight syllables, *i* vowel)

KANG	DEN	ÈDHÈNG-ÈDHÈNG	MUNG	GENDHING
that	do	"in the open"	only	"gamelan
which				music"
		voor ieder zicht-		"striking
		baar vertoond		metal"
				une manière
		"boldly"		*d'éxecuter le*
				gamellan
		ridderlijk voor de		
		waarheid uitkomen		

Line 3 (eight syllables. *a* vowel)

SARTA	GINANDÈNGAN	GENDHANG
and	"like people going	"sound"
	hand-in-hand"	
		(*Stimme laut, klar*)
	connected, related	
		"singing"
		zich gedurig
		laten horen

Line 4 (eight syllables, *i* vowel)

TINONDHÉ	TANPA	TANDHING
"be compared"	without	"comparison"
wedergade		*matched [against]*
"balanced"		

Line 5 (eight syllables, *a* vowel)

TAN	DUWÉ	ÉLING	SAMENDHANG
not	have	"awareness"	"like a rice husk"
		to remember,	*broken-up, discarded*
		bear in mind	*rice husks; figuratively,*
		"self-	*trivial, insignificant*
		possession"	
			un atome, un grain
			de poussière

Line 6 (eight syllables, *i* vowel)

KANG	SINANDANG	KANG	SINANDHING
that which	"be clothed"	that	"be very close"
	which		
	s'habiller;		*close by,*
	souffrir,		*next to*
	endurer		

I hope the reader is able to bear with the slow pace of reading this poetic paradigm. Most words in any language are more like symbols than signs, more like metaphors than names, and a translator wants to savor the whole range of resonances that a word evokes. That is a great part of the power of a word-to evoke its own past in the varied word-memories of its readers. Words are multidimensional, and one would like to retain more than one dimension in a translation. The trouble is that the metaphors Javanese words make are seldom the metaphors English words make, and the memories they evoke are not our memories.

One of the first things an English reader notices about the stanza of kinanthi examined above is that it is comprised almost entirely of predicates and connectives. There are no subjects so sentence boundaries are hard to determine. The few nouns that do occur are the objects of predicates: *instrumental music (gendhing), singing (gendhang), rice husk (samendhang).* As in much Southeast Asian discourse, the subject (who or what the text is about) is to be supplied by the hearer or reader, identified either from the context of performance or from memory. The connective words (*tanpa, sarta, kang,* and *mung*), and the morphology of the predicates (the affixes ang-, a-, -um-, -in-, and ka-) serve to sort out who does what in the action of the poem. This sorting is difficult to discuss, since there are no widely known English terms that can describe the things Javanese connective words do. We usually find rough English equivalents (such as *without, and, that which, and only*), and then we quickly forget just how rough they are.

It is tedious — more tedious than reading poetic paradigms — to try to explain the details of Javanese predicate morphology, but perhaps describing it in a simile can make its aesthetic possibilities clearer. The simile is that grammar is like drama. It is a widespread figure, found in many languages, Javanese as well as English. In Javanese, for instance, *adegan* names both 'a scene from a play' and 'a punctuated unit of discourse', combined in the metaphor of a 'door' or 'gate'. In English terminology, the entities missing from our kinanthi are the actors. The verb morphology helps us to understand

how those unnamed actors are related to the rest of the scene, and how one scene is related to another. The actor is not named, but his or her role is.

In the poem, the predicates mark one of five roles, whose English glossings might be given as follows.

having or experiencing (*ka*-prefix)
doing[1] (*aN*-prefix)
doing[2] (*-um*-infix)
being (*a-* prefix)
done to (*-in*-infix)

Note that when the *a* vowel of an affix meets a *u* vowel in a stem, the combination becomes *o*, as in the word *kodheng* (line 1); when an *a* vowel meets an *i* vowel, the combination becomes *e*, as in *éling* (line 5). In cases such as this the affixes have become frozen, as philologists say, to the stem. Note further that there is no consensus among philologists about the difference between what I have called here *doing*[1] and *doing*[2]. For both, the role of the unnamed actor is what philologists describe as *agentive*. One interpretation is that, when they occur together, *doing*[2] is background to *doing*[1], indicating the relation of one predicate to another rather than the relation of an actor to a predicate.

The dramatic movement of a discourse can be observed in the sequence of roles (somewhat like the sequence of tenses in English). In our kinanthi, that movement might be described as *experiencing, doing*[1], *doing*[2], *being, done to, done to, having, being, done to, done to*. A pattern emerges from this parsing, that is, the repetition of *being, done to, done to*. Part of the aesthetic of Javanese verse — what makes it interesting — lies here, in what seems to a foreigner like following the trace of an invisible actor through shifting roles. This is the movement my description is trying to simulate. By leaving actors unnamed (unnamed from an English perspective) text-building in Javanese opens up aesthetic potentialities that are possible but very highly marked in English, in which text-building is far more dependent on the sequence of tenses and on repeated, explicit subjects.

So far, then, the first kinanthi on our calendar has been treated as a sequence of words (few of them corresponding to English in form or meaning), on which are marked the shifting roles of an unnamed actor. The close reader will have noticed already the internal sound-play, called *purwakanthi sastra* in Javanese. Most obvious is the play with the syllable dh-ng: *dhèng, dhèng, dhung, dhèng, dhèng, dhing, dhang, dhing, dhang, dhing*. Not only do we see in it the vowel pattern of the kinanthi (*u,i,a,i,a,i*) but these syllables are also the mnemonics assigned to musical pitches in Javanese (see

Sindoesawarno, "Ilmu Karawitan,". Below is one version for a five-note scale. The numbers refer to gamelan pitches, with the mnemonic syllables listed below.

note:	1	2	3	5	6
syllable:	dhing	dhong	dhèng	dhung	dhang

This syllabification of musical notes is similar to our assignment of the syllables *do, re, mi, fa, sol, la,* and *ti* to pitches in Western music. What the author of the kinanthi has done is compose a poem in which the syllables *dhing, dhong, dhèng*, and so on play a kind of 'tune" within the words of the verse. It is not an identifiable tune, but it does suggest an excess of music, which is the theme of the poem.

Visually, too, there is a great deal happening. The last line of the kinanthi in the box at the top of the calendar page is split by the image of a crown. If you look closely you will see that the two sides of that divided line, on either side of the crown, are mirror images of one another (the way the letters *b* and *d* are mirror images in roman script). This is a second kind of self-reflexivity (the first being the musical notes in a poem about music). The two predicates on either side of the crown, *sinandang* and *sinandhing*, make an interesting contrast in meaning as well as in form. The first, *sinandang*, might be interpreted to say that the unnamed actor is covered by something, clothed by it, as a husk clothes a grain of rice. The second predicate, *sinandhing*, leads one to think of that same actor as being surrounded by something. In other words, the unknown actor pays no attention to either appearance or surroundings. He or she has neither the awareness nor the presence of mind of a rice husk about his or her appearance or about other people.

Could anyone include all of this in a translation? Better, perhaps, to describe it and let the reader imagine a poem, rich in sound and shape, about a bewildered, strung-out, show-off who displays his self-righteous obsession with gamelan music, values it more than anything, and at the same time disvalues religion, personal appearance, and other people.

The second verse in the calendar picture, written within the circle in the center, is also a kinanthi. It is filled with the same play of musical *dhong-dhing*, the same lexical richness, as the prior verse. Here, too, words are resonant in interesting and enjoyable ways. I will make another poetic paradigm (figure 2) in the hope that poetic paradigms are useful, at least for those who would explore calendars.

Please look again for a moment at the circle in the calendar picture. Do you see the drum and the small pot-gong? Also, the final word, *gendhing* 'music', is shaped like hands, which are crushing the rest of the final line of this second *kinanthi*. The whole verse is shaped like a hanging gong.

Figure 2

Line 1 (eight syllables, *u* vowel)

MUNG only	GENDHING music	DEN do	UNDHUNG-UNDHUNG *to amass in abundance* "like he is buried in stones" *opstapeling, ophoping* "heaped up"

Line 2 (eight syllables, *i* vowel)

KEKENDHANGAN drumming	NORA not	DHONG-DHING (the mnemonic syllables discussed above) "follow the notes" *the facts about something* *"follow the rules"*

Line 3 (eight syllables, *a* vowel)

RINA day	WENGI and night	ANGADHANG-ADHANG *to wait somewhere for* *people/things to go past* "like waiting for a train" *venir a l'encontre,* *venir contre quelqu'un* "wait with hope"

Line 4 (eight syllables, *i* vowel)

WONG	ANANGGAP	GENDHING
person	"ask for"	music
	"arrange"	

Line 5 (eight syllables, *a* vowel)

MRING	AGAMA	NORA	DHANGAN
about	religion	not	*willing to help*
			"happy with"
			licht, gemakkelijk (z'n werk doen, iets aanvatten enz)
			"like one recovered from an illness"
			n'être arrêté par rien, n'avoir aucune objection; être exempt de toute difficulte; n'avoir aucune chagrin

Line 6 (eight syllables, *i* vowel)

KATENDHANG	TUNDHUNG	ING	GENDHING
"kicked like a soccer ball"	"tossed"	in	music
schoppen met het onderste plat van de voet	*to send someone off*		
"crushed"			
"both words [*katendhang* and *tundhung*] are meaningless sounds trying to find the *dhong-dhing*"			

Here again the definitions from dictionaries and the explanations by Javanese scholars are meant to suggest the resonance of words and to open the possibility of many translations, rich in sound and shape, in which the unnamed actor is buried in music improperly performed, the drums not following the rules, waiting for another gig, forgetting religion, crushed in music.... But that is to make it too transparent, for the lines are thick with an overlay of poetic activity. The aesthetic here, as in gamelan music, as in *batik*, as in shadow plays, is an aesthetic of overlays. Sound is superimposed on sound, design on design, event on event.

Jaap Kunst translated this stanza, prosaically, as follows: He glorifies only music. He lives in a disorderly atmosphere; night and day he waits for people to call him to come and play. He has no religious inclination, owing to the power that music has over him.[5]

In the *Serat Centhini*, after many similar stanzas, the speaker turns to the opposite view — that music can aid spiritual insight by creating an inner harmony and tranquility, although we must not stop there, he warns, but go beyond and trace sound back to its source. The calendar, on the other hand, quotes only two verses of kinanthi from the *Serat Centhini*, but it adds, in a kind of pedestal across the bottom, two lines of prose.

SANADYAN	WURU	YEN	WURU	WURUKING	NGÈLMU
let be	drunk	if	drunk (with)	teachings of	wisdom
INGULIHKEN	SWARA	MRING	KANG	DUWÉ	SWARA
be brought back	sound	with	what	has	sound

These last lines stimulated a great deal of discussion in Java. No one identified their source. Each new reading was accepted as an enrichment of the last, not a correction of it. "You might also say that." There was no effort to come to a single correct reading.

One of the scholars we consulted, whose work also appears in these volumes, was the noted musician and teacher, Sastrapustaka (see "Wédha Pradangga Kawedhar"). He described the three sections of the calendar picture (the top square, the central circle, and the two lines at the bottom) as, respectively, *cipta 'idea'*, or the way of thought, for the square at the top (which he said was probably meant to be a page of a palm-leaf book); *rasa* 'feeling', or the way of the heart, for the kinanthi in the central circle; and *karsa*

[5]See Jaap Kunst, *Music in Java* (1973: 268).

'action', or the way of the future, for the final two prose lines at the bottom. He suggested that the three-thought, feeling, and action — together create a symbol for the whole person. He also said that the colors are symbolic: white for purity, black for torment, red for carnal desire, and yellow for other hopes and desires. In this reading of the colors another dimension of meaning emerges, for he noted the particular importance of the fact that in the last line only the central word, *mring* 'with', appears on a white background.

ingulihken swara mring kang duwé swara

let the sound be brought back with the source of sound

This suggests that the point of balance, *mring,* is associated with purity — a special foregrounding with color of a word that would remain unstressed and in the background in an English translation.

When we next asked Javanese scholars how we should think about the figures on the sides of the picture, and about the things inscribed there, no one was very confident. A few said that there are two poison serpents, one on each side, facing outward. The interpretation that seemed most resonant with the rest of the poem was that the verses are flanked by two grains of rice with elaborated husks, recalling the end of the first stanza.

Slowly, over time, and with a great deal of help, we began to understand the calendar. We have come nowhere near mastering or explaining it, but it has lost some of its opacity.

The calendar takes meaning from many sources: from shapes, from colors, from sounds, from the world of gamelaning it evokes, from its metaphors (the rice husk), from the genre kinanthi, from its lexical parallelism and grammatical coherence, from its author (Sultan Paku Buwana V of Mataram, everyone said), and from you, a modern reader, imagining a reality to be seen through it. This short essay has exhausted none of these sources of meaning. The letters in the corners remain unexplained, as do the cakra arrows with the split tails. The didactic intent of the calendar is not clear either — except for the admonition to combine morality and knowledge, which is the common assumption of writings. To take that admonition seriously is to become another, slower kind of reader, and, *ungulihken swara mring kang duwé swara*[6]

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[6]The author gratefully acknowledges the aid of many people who have suggested translations, interpretations, and sources: Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, Rama Kuntara Wiryamartana, Benedictus Yusuf Harjamulya Sastrapustaka, R. Anderson Sutton, Soewojo Wojowasito, Mukidi Adisunarto, Harold S. Powers, R. M. Soedarsono, Margaret kartomi, Patricia Henry, and, for detailed criticism and advice, Alan Feinstein. None, I suspect, would agree with everything written in this essay.

THE JAVANESE EXORCISMS OF EVIL: BETWIXT INDIA AND JAVA

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The evolution of Javanese exorcisms can be partially revealed by an examination of the difference between ancient and contemporary exorcisms, usually called *ruwatan*. These older exorcisms are also to be found in the corpus of Javanese mythology. In order to isolate the place the contemporary *Birth of Kala* exorcism holds in the corpus of Javanese mythology, one can compare the mythemes of nineteenth and twentieth century with pre-eighteenth century exorcisms. How do these myths differ? Are they part of the repertory of contemporary Javanese myths or are they literary artifacts? We can answer this question by claiming that if a myth still qualifies for even occasional use as a ritual of purification, it is still part and parcel of Java's living mythology.

The nineteenth *Birth of Kala* story as told by Ranggawarsita in his *Pustaka Raja Purwa* zigzags between a denigration of the Hindu-Javanese pantheon of gods and an exaltation of Islam and a curious feeling for history in which Islam is made to come earlier in time by reference to the Middle East, but later in time when speaking of the earliest Javanese mythical events. The *geografi jiwa* (praeternatural geography) invoked permits changing time scales according to location. The *Serat Pustaka Raja Purwa* (vol.I, 1983) nominally begins in Mecca, but is quickly more solidly anchored in Java mythology. A translation of Ranggawarsita's synopsis of the *Birth of Kala* will illustrate this hybrid approach to Javanese myth with its pretention of composing a history by juxtaposition of mythological *wayang* plays. In fact we will only take up the closing parts of episode 4 of this myth, but prefer to give the résumé in its entirety.

The ms. tradition of the *Pustaka Raja* is everything but clear. The text used here, privately published in eleven volumes in 1983, comes from vol. I, pp.4-6 of a ronéotyped transcription by a dhalang, Tristuti Rachmadi of Surakarta. The source was a ms. he inherited from his father.

THE BIRTH OF KALA

"Scene 1. Mt. Tengguru: Hywang Guru (=Siwa) in the presence of Hywang Maya (illusion) and his older siblings, the Five Sages. Subject of discussion: situation of the

proud cow which necessitates Hywang Guru delegating the nine sons of Hywang Maya, Hywang Bongkokan (Wungku), Wrahaspati, Yamadipati, Surya, Candra, Kuwéra, Patuk, Tamburu and Kamajaya (the tenth a girl named Bathari Supertah or Suparti in the future will become the "side" *sisih* of Hywang Antanboga). These nine *jawata* quickly leave to remove the cow Andini from Mt. Malaya.

Scene 2. Mt. Himalaya: The cow Andini in the presence of Naréndra Himaka Prabu Japaran and his minister Parasdya. Topic of discussion: Sang Nata Himaka makes a *sembah* before Lembu (cow) Andini requesting that he might receive a kingly revelation to descend successively on his children and his grandchildren. Interrupted by the arrival of the *jawata* (gods), Sang Prabu Japaran is instructed that it is a wrong action to make a *sembah* to a cow. The teaching of the gods is not accepted and a "fivefold action" (=hopeless war) ensues. The *jawata* and the sons of Maya together defeat these authorities and Andini. Finally Hywang Guru himself comes out onto the battlefield and all announce this frightening news. As a result Lembu Andini submits, becoming the mount of Hywang Guru. King Japaran and his army also then bow their heads before Hywang Guru. Hywang Guru returns orders the *jawata* that are ordered to subdue several kings who have made their submission to the "flesh" (*iwak*=? some Muslim notion of idolatry).

Scene 3. Sablistan (=Devil's) Lake: The Tirbah (=?) flesh, which the Ruler of the World acknowledged, receives the visit of King Dirjasto and his son Radèn Dastandar. (Due to) the importance of the visit, King Dirjasto makes a *sembah* to the Tirbah flesh in order to receive a magically powerful blessing. Interrupted by the arrival of the *jawata*, King Dirjasto is reminded to the effect that he would not later make an inappropriate *sembah*.

King Dirjasto in anger starts a battle; Dirjasto is killed and Radèn Dastandar flees. It is recounted how during his flight Dastandar meets Juragan (=a merchant?) Hémaran. Certain discussions follow: Juragan Hémaran gives an explanation that Hywang Guru is indeed Sang Hywang Manik (=jewel, sperm). Next Radèn Dastandar along with Juragan visit Hywang Guru because Juragan Hémaran also intends to "cherish the sorrow of his heart". Once Radèn Dastandar and Juragan succeed in visiting Hywang Guru, Dastandar surrenders to Hywang Guru. Next Jurugan Hémaran "cherishes (the memory of)" the loss of his daughter Umayi. Hywang Guru states that Umayi, victim of a curse, has become the flesh Tirbah. Then this having been prayed over, the flesh Tirbah speaks before Hywang Guru and having been given medicine to recover, therein is indeed discovered the form of a handsome woman.

To accelerate the stroy, lady Umayi became one of the wives of Hywang Guru accompanied by Jurugan Hémaran with his son-in-law Turkan and his wife named Umari and the youngest child of the merchant who was still unmarried, named Umani. Later Umani was married to Radén Dastandar. After the marriage, Hywang Guru and lady Umayi returned to Mt. Tengguru while Jurugan Hémaran, Turkan, Umari and Umani were taken to a new residence by Radèn Dastandar.

Sequel: On Mt. Tengguru Hywang Guru has a child by Umayi but it comes out of the air in the form of a ray of four colours. Prayed over it becomes four warriors whose names are: the oldest Hywang Sambu, then Hywang Bromo, the Hywang Bayu, and Hywang Endro. Hywang Guru received a revelation that he is not permitted (yet again) to mix his soul with his wife, but that it is in order to name the prayer of sexual enjoyment in order to have further children. As soon as it was spoken, lady Umayi was pregnant again. Hywang Guru decreed that his four sons present themselves in order to command the surrender of several kings to the west of Persia who together were worshiping a picture*, combining two into one to try to create manliness in sons. The four sons agreed immediately and quickly left.

Sequel: To the west of Persia, king Swaladrara and king Darmasarana, together worshipped Pik Kong (?), requesting wealth and well-being. Interrupted by the arrival of the gods, there was shouting and a lively battle broke out. Finally Hywang Bayu (wind) opened up a strong wind and Swaladara and Darmasarana with Pik Kong flew away blown off by the wind, which blew them out of existence. The four gods then returned to Mt. Tengguru, and their presence was requested by their father at the moment when their mother lady Umayi had just produced a son of black light of frightening splendor. He was given the name of Hywang Wisnu. The amniotic fluid and the placenta had the form of terrifying men named elder Cakut and elder Tuha. Hywang Wisnu was dismissed by his father and was ordered to *puruwita* (=?) to his aunt and uncle. Afterwards Wisnu shot out to Bani Srael (children of Israel) to be the teacher of Begawan Rusmanaji.

Scene 4 In the land of the children of Israel: Lord prophet Jesus, his students crying over their request for the extinction of the *jawata,* rolled into a pill some clay which became a dove which was ordered to calm the gods. The dove agreed and then flew off. Once before the gods, the dove said that he was ordered by lord prophet Jesus to ascertain the feeling of the *jawata.* The gods were angry, pouncing on the bird which

* Icon, cf. *Manik Maya.* 1983 vol.I, pp.66-87 where there is several times question of a gambar which is finally made into a jewel which is given to Manikmaya.

flew up hovering. Bird-droppings and such not became poisons, falling on several gods who quickly dispersed. Hywang Guru his wife and children took shelter in the land of Java. The dove followed them, but out of caution Hywang Guru let fly the discus weapon. The bird fell on Mt. Merapi becoming the Lake (=? crater) of Poison. Several gods drank the lakewater and died. Then Hywang Guru came, sprinkling the gods with the water of health producing well-being. Then Hywang Guru was angry and drank this lakewater, but was unable to swallow it and then sprayed it out, and suddenly his neck above the Adam's apple was covered with white spots. Thus from then on knowledge was imparted to Hywang Nilakantha (blue-throated). Then he departed to the heaven of Mt. Mahéndra.

Then at sunset Hywang Guru mounted the cow Andini with his wife the goddess Uma and on the upper back of the cow tried to have intercourse. Cautiously the goddess Uma avoided it, such that the sperm from Hywang Guru fell into the sea which constantly flared up.Hywang returned angry with his wife, whom he hung upside down. Sang dewi Uma gave a high-pitched cry and was suddenly changed into the demon named Durga. Passing away, she then was visible as the one ordered to reign over the evil spirits. Hywang Guru then prayed to be able to seduce the wife of his uncle Caturkanéka, whose name was godess of Auspicious Smileful Tears. She was like a pair of flowers when (compared) to the fineness of the godess Umayi. It is said that Caturkanéka was incited for his wife. His sperm was contained in the box Jewel Lingga which was a heirloom for the son Bambang Kanekaputra.

THE MOUNTAIN IS PLANTED (IN THE CENTER OF THE SCREEN)

The last episode of this myth refers to the common denominator of all contemporary Javanese exorcisms, the demon Kala born of Guru's spilt sperm. It is this final episode which this article will explore. All the preceding episodes, which are at variance from the standard "indigenous" *Murwa Kala* text will be treated only as witnesses of later "upstream" additions designed to repace the "downstream" older Javanese traditions with Muslims ones. Thus for instance the anti-Christian episodes from scene 4.

In the past local Javanese myths were tightly bound to social structures, and they were only dislodged gradually by the arrival of Islamic religious ideology on the Javanese political scene at the end of the sixteenth century (cf. de Graaf & Pigeaud (1974: 1-33). What has come down to the twentieth century was further reworked becoming a mixture of Javanese myths, remodeled Indian and Islamic lore, all uprooted from their

social context by the Dutch colonial domination which was pre-eminent after 1756 in central Java.

The content of the Indian antecedents of certain Javanese myths will be treated in the second section of this chapter. Whether Indian-inspired (i.e. the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*) or clearly Javanese, these older traditions consigned to writing by medieval Javanese court poets were written in a language that is now incomprehensible to the average Javanese. The most useful way to compare their influence on contemporary *ruwatan* is to isolate by means of brief plot synopses[1] their descriptions of purification and, on seeing how these episodes are differently patterned, to draw conclusions on the structural properties that they share. Here the term episodes designate motifs, whereas by structure we designate the syntax, the articulation that makes the linking of several episodes meaningful.

Very few of the more ancient Javanese exorcisms contain their invocations which are the most interesting point of comparison with contempary *ruwatan*. Thus in order to study the classical Javanese purifications we are forced to concentrate on the only information provided, how one goes about undoing a bad destiny or a curse in order to restore to health the individual to be exorcized. This process of liberating from evil clearly has a long tradition in Java, but the mythemes that express it have changed over time. Contemporary exorcisms use the story of the disarming of Kala by a dhalang who reads the writing on the monster's body to know his origin and dispel his presence from the life of a victim. As will be shown below the invocation of the older exorcisms are not the same.

1. EARLIER JAVANESE RUWATAN (EXORCISMS)

The older Javanese *ruwatan,* the exorcisms listed here below, will be taken up in turn and a synopsis of the actual episodes relating to purification will be given.

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[1]As complete plot summaries are readily available in Zoetmulder (1974) for all those myths written in poetry, here I will concentrate only on the actual moments of exorcizing that appear in these stories. Several Javanese have recently drawn attention to the long history of the word *ruwat* (purification) or *lukat* (Hariani Santiko, no date; R. S. Subalidinata *et al,* 1985). Their exercise is most rewarding when they invoke not Western academic criterion of literary sources, but indigenous classifications. For instance when Subalidinata (1985: 163-164) classify the *ruwatan* mantra by the threefold criteria of content, function and purpose the notion of the direction (*tujuan*) of a prayer, which plays such a large role in the Javanese invocations, is for that writer the deciding factor. In another study (Soedarsono *et al,* 1985, the Javanese etiology of illness was used as a background for the study of the *Murwa Kala,* but this is only possible with contemporary exorcisms for data is lacking concerning the conceptions of health and sickness among the peasants of the Javanese middle ages.

1. Oral traditions later written down as poetry
   SUDAMALA: Guru, incarnate in Sadewa, exorcizes Durga from a curse.
   SRI TANJUNG: (sequel to above) Durga re-animates and exorcizes Sri Tanjung; the text interpolates a later 18th century East Javanese mantra for this occasion.
   CALON ARANG: Set in the 11th century kingdom of king Erlangga where Siva has the sage Bharadah exorcize Calon Arang.

2. Javanese prose stories of deliverence by exorcism
   KORAWASRAMA : With the help of the three goddesses, Gana exorcizes his mother Uma, cursed to be Durga for having torn up Gana's book revealing her past. Complete description of the ritual is given.
   NAWARUCI: During Bima's search for the water of life, on two occasions he liberates monstrous beings from Guru's (Siva's) curse.

3. Javanese Buddhist exorcisms of evil
   KUNJARAKARNA: Purnawijaya and the demon Kunjarakarna are instructed by Wairocana on purification from evil and liberation (*moksa*).
   SUTASOMA: A *bodhisattva* incarnates as the son (Sutasoma) of a king, then leaves his family to become a monk. Durga teaches him the great heart mantra. A man-eating demon, Porusada, encouraged by Kala, causes great destruction. Finally after many edifying adventures, Sutasoma vanquishes, with Siva's aid, this enemy of his father's kingdom. Siva and Buddha are proclaimed equal.

4. Indian myths retold in Javanese poetry, later used as wayang exorcisms
   SMARADAHANA: Birth of Gana (i.e. Ganesa; here never called Skanda, or Kala) from the spilt sperm of Siva. East Javanese twelfth century poem.

The *Sudamala* has the reputation of being a *ruwat*-play in *kidung* poetical form. Unfortunately the mantra are lost[2]. The following synopsis of song 25, verses 38-42 (edition of van Stein Callenfels 1925:18) describes Guru (=Siwa), incarnate in Sadewa, the youngest of the five Pandawa brothers, performing an exorcism of Durga:

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[2]My search in the K.I.T.L.V. archives for van Stein-Callenfels' copies (cf. 1925:94-95, note 2) lent to Schrieke (cf. *Tijdschrift...* LXII:282) produced no results. Nor could any trace of the later mantra's in the *Sudamala* (cf. songs IV.11a, IV:182d) be found.

When Sadewa addresses Ra Nini (Durga), she listens to him in order to receive healing. Durga is one Sadewa's right side, while he stands on one foot, reciting the hugkara (OM) and mantra, his mind concentrated and unstained (cita-nirmala). Sadewa showers rice, curcuma and flower blossems on Durga, and Semar rings the prayer bells. She exclaims that she has finally been forgiven, twelve years after her adultery with a brahman.

In the modern *Birth of Kala* Wisnu incarnates himself as the dhalang, "Speaking the World" (*Kandabuwana*), but here in the Sudamala there is no discussion by the poet justifying the perpetuating the practice of purification down through a line founded by Wisnu of specially endowed puppeteer-priests. It nonetheless remains clear that the hearing of the words of the mantra are what cools down (cf. song II:42b) Durga's body and restores her original beauty. Here is a résumé of the *Sri Tanjung*, sequel to the Sudamala, down to the point where the mantra are introduced:

The myth concerns two grandchildren of Tambapetra of the Sudamala story: Sakula's son, Sidapaksa, and Sadewa's daughter, Sri Tanjung. Sidapaksa was sent by the king Sulakrama, on a mission. Visiting on his way Tambapetra's hermitage, Sidapaksa carries off Tambapetra granddaughter, Sri Tanjung. Arriving in Indra's heaven to collect a debt, Sidapaksa's missive in fact denounces him for supposedly plotting against the gods. This is in fact only a ploy on the king Sulakrama's part to get rid of Sidapaksa and obtain his wife, Sri Tanjung, whom he has left behind. Sadewa has been given a magic jacket by Ra Nini (Durga) in gratitude for the purification performed by Sadewa (cf. Sudamala). This Sidapaksa uses to make the journey to Indra's heaven in a single day. Sri Tunjung manages to resist king Sulakrama's advances. Sidapaksa is saved from punishment for his supposed treachery, when Siwa realizes that this is indeed Indra's grandson, the son-in-law of Sadewa. Returning to his wife, Sidapaksa is taken in by the rumors of her adultery, and kills Sri Tanjung in the charnal ground of Gandamayu, only to find that her blood exudes the perfume of purity. He goes mad with grief, while Sri Tanjung's soul visits the damned in hell. Later she is refused entrance into heaven, leading her soul to return to her body which provokes a cosmic upheaval. At this Siwa's spouse, Ra Nini, descends to aid her benefactor's (*Sadewa*) daughter whom she returns to corporeal life. To protect her from slander (*ujar ala*), Ra Nini performs a purification using holy water and the following prayers (Priyono 1938:43-44; 126-128):

179a. Come here my grandchild, you shall be bathed with this *kamandhalu* (ascetic's pitcher) water that I have next to me. Due to this you shall escape, from dangers and difficulties, you shall escape from all bodily illnesses. May you escape from the directing of black magic. May you always be complete, escaping from any curses (*ila*)!

179b. The great Wudi (=Ficus Rumphii BL.) grows in the east; its bird is the turtledove. The water underneath it is called a lake planted with white lotus and (its pavilion) is adorned with silver. Its water flows clear. This is the place where disasters (*upadarwa*) are destroyed (*lukat*). Grandmothers and grandfathers are there to take baths.

179c. The great *kapok* tree grows in the South, its bird is the harrier hawk (*ulung; falco pondicerianus*). Clear is the water underneath; it is called a lake planted red lotus, and (its pavillion) is adorned with copper. This water is flowing. That is the place where men are freed (*lukat*) from the ten stains (*dasamala*). Fathers and mothers are there to be bathed.

179d. The great *angsana* tree (*Pterocarpus indica* Willd.) grows in the west; its bird is the golden oriole. The water underneath is clear; it is called a lake planted with yellow lotus. Its (pavillion) is adorned with gold. Its water flows clear, freeing (*lukat*) from bodily illnesses. Children and married women are there to bathe.

179e. The ebony tree grows in the north, its bird is a crow. The water underneath is clear; it is called a lake planted with blue lotus. Its (pavillion) is adorned with iron. It's water flows clear, freeing from (the consequences of) slander. Grandchildren and ancestors are there to be bathed.

179f. The *nagasari* tree (*Mensua ferrea* Linn) grows in the middle, its bird is the *menco* (=Dutch *béo?*). Its water underneath is clear. It is called the lake planted with all flowers. Its (pavillion) is decorated with multi-coloured (metals). Its water flows clearly, and this water purifies stainlessly (*nirmala*). My body (*sarira*) is bathed therein.

179g. "There is it, grandchild, that you must be bathed. Come I shall accompany you". Sri Tanjung was taken by the hand and she arrived at the lake. Hyang Nini (Grandmother) stood in front of her and said calmly, "Well then lovely grandchild, my soul, now may all misery and sorrow be destroyed."

179h. After (Sri Tanjung) had been bathed, they made up her hair and arranged her clothes. Even though she still had her white clothes on, Sri Tanjung was all the more beautiful. Hyang Nini looked (at her) and said:" The appearance of my lovely granddaughter fills me with emotion. You surpass the nymphs of heaven. I take pleasure in beholding you."

It is known that these prayers (cf. Prijono 1938:43-44; 126-127 for translation) were added to the Sri Tanjung myth some two or three hundred years after its composition. One can clearly see what the later-day editor thought was missing or insufficiently explicit. Thus sometime in the late seventeenth century an east Javanese wanted to gloss the holy water with a series of five diagrammatic prayers. This ritual preoccupations with the spiritual geography of "four companion" (*mancapat*) directions, trees, birds, building materials, coloured lotus, lakes, impurities and ancestors are clearly laid out[3]. Not advancing the mythic storyline, these additions must be read as prayers. They are not mantras properly speaking, for these invocations have a standard poetical syntax which

[3]However the association of this classification system with other such classifications is not clear. For instance amongst the thirty *wuku* Mahayekti and Maktal also have the *nagasari* tree, but these are the only parallels amongst the trees with the thirty seven-day *wuku*. The classification system introduced here is not preoccupied with being coherent in terms of other well-known tabulations of the same sort.

most mantra don't. The verses translated above can best be accounted for as a *ritual* association of the category of water through its five eventual sets: the cardinal points, colours, etc. These five prayers give another kind of context to the statement in the myth that purifying water was used. The myth's interruption is justified because it is not being told for its own sake (whatever that might be), but in order to exorcize an evil of the same sort that necessitated the bath that was administered to Sri Tanjung. It will be given to the person whose destiny is being purified by the recounting of this myth and their being bathed in this "freeing" (*lukat*) water. Hooykaas has noted that in Indian ritual, "...one cannot worship the Lord in the Centre without having first worshipped His aspects in the four if not the eight main directions, one cannot approach the Lord before having worshipped His servants;..."(Hooykaas 1964:119). The same author makes the valuable observation that ritual texts prescribe what a celebrant must do (*bayu* in Balinese, i.e. *mudra*, offerings, etc.), what he should say (*sabda*: mantra and songs of praise), and what he must think (*idep*). Clearly in mythology one does not advance by such ritual prescriptions, but by the evocation of the acts of men and animals in some paradigmatic past. The relation of paradigmatic mythic events and diagrammatic prayers will not be discussed here in detail for it is a question posed by any myth to which prayers are added in order for it to be used in an purification.

In the third of these indigenous Javanese exorcisms, the *Calon Arang* (Poerbatjaraka 1926):

> Siwa appears out of a sacrifical fire to aid the east Javanese king Erlangga (early XIth century), whose kingdom, Siwa says, must be exorcized by the mpu Bharadah in the "Written Earth" (*lemah tulis*) cemetery since the witch Calon Arang has claimed innumerable victims. Finally Calon Arang herself requests a purification from mpu Bharadah, but is refused and killed in a battle with him. Regretting not having instructed the witch concerning liberation (*moksa*) from this corrupting existence, he brings her back to life, and, having been so instructed, she is free (*lepas*), completely exorcized (*siddha lukat*) from her evilness.

The theme of writing on an object or a body, here a kingdom to be exorcized is visualized by the name of the cemetery, "written earth" where the exorcist will perform. Even in the twentieth century whole kingdoms were exorcized; the Mangkunagaran did so in October, 1949 when political strife was rife (cf. Reksopustaka ms.H 28 by Ki Ronggo Wignyasutarna). In the above myth the disfiguration of Calon Arang is still effaced by the spoken word, but her evilness is inherent and not due to a curse, as in the *Sudamala* and *Korawasrama*, where a malediction explains an ugly appearence and evil behavior.

The prose treatise *Korawasrama* (cf. edition of Swellengrebel 1936) is a 17th century text in its present form:

> Here Uma/Durga is cursed (*sapa; tulah*) for having torn up a book belonging to Gana (=Ganesa) which permitted to see into the past and thus to know of Durga's rapport with a shepard. The god Gana finally exorcizes his mother Durga with the help of the three goddesses, the Tripurusi. Sri enters the sole of Durga's foot, Saraswati her soul and Durga's "desire", and Sawitri inhabits Durga's nostrils and mouth. Gana takes water from the Dhwaja lake in a white kendi (pitcher), forms a mudra with his fingers, makes garlands, uses the talabhedana flowers and pronounces the mantra. To finish, Gana sprays Durga with holy water (*amerta*), and when he has wiped her foot, she returns to her original form of Uma.

The importance of these written words (Gana=Ganesa is the elephant-headed son of Guru and Uma, the god of scribes and remover of obstacles) will be taken up later in section 2 and 3 when the Indian myths are dealt with. Fortunately there is a clear description here of how the exorcism takes place. The only parallel with the contemporary *Murwa Kala* exorcisms is the "re-membering" of parts of Durga's body by their investiture by the three goddesses. In the *Birth of Kala* invocations the dhalang reads off of the chest, palate and back of Kala the story of his origin, and in this way his true origin as a god is heard. Here the presence of the goddesses in Durga's body seem to provide an adequate listener for the mantra recited and thus her true origin is retreived.

A second account of a purification in *Korawasrama* is much closer in mytheme to the *Birth of Kala*:

> Siwa and Uma have united with their terrifying forms of Kala and Durga, but are purified by Sang Hyang Tunggal, least he devour the inhabited world.

What is constant in these two *Korawasrama* exorcisms as well as in the *Sudamala*, is Durga's threatening form. The cursed form of Uma/Parvati, Durga, lives in the realm of death and destruction, the *Gandamayit* (odour of corpses) forest/cemetery. She has the apocalyptic form of the great Kali, Bhairawa[4]; She is found at the gates of death in cemeteries where the dead find release from this world. The apocalyptic destruc-

[4] Efforts to connect this occasional use of Tantric vocabulary proper to specific rites of this complex form of Buddhism or Sivaism, or some mixture thereof, is pure speculation (cf.Hariani Santiko n.d.: 141). If purification abounded in Tantric rituals, nothing obliged Javanese to follow the complex rules of these rites which even in India and Tibet always had popular village counterparts that were anything but scholastic reproductions of the Sanskrit Tantric treastises (cf. On Mahasona purification in Ceylon: Wirz 1954; Kapferer 1983). As we will see below, what Durga does seem to have incarnated to the Javanese over the centuries is the image of an ambiguous link between death due to defilement, and liberation from sin. This is clearly projected in the above *Sudamala* and *Korawasrama* myths where she herself is the victim of defilement seeking liberation.

tion with which she is associated is thus ambiguous for it is both the separation from this world and moment of the union with Durga. Her iconography is clearly tantric (cf. Hariani Santiko 1987 on the two distinct roles of Durga in pre-XVIth century Java), her hair indicating her other worldiness, her white fangs her *sattwaguna* (highest quality of being), her red tongue her *rajoguna* (quality of passion), Durga can only help lead *tamoguna* (obscure quality) up to the point of being mobilized by the preceding two qualities.

The *Kunjarakarna* (cf. Kern 1901:van der Mollen 1983, ch.III) also illustrates this aspect of exorcism relating liberation to the passage from this world to the next. In the *Kunjarakarna*:

> A demon of that name who wants to return to being a god, realizes the meaning of the dharma, thus freeing himself instantly from his ten sins (*dasamala*). This liberation by understanding occurs when the God of death Yama shows him where his relative Purnawijaya and his wife, are to be tourmented for 10,000 year in a cauldron in hell. After having been instructed by Yama about reincarnation and having forewarned his relative Purnawijaya, Kunjarakarna accompanies him to receive instruction from Wairocana. With Wairocana's aid Purnawijaya does penance for only nine days in the cauldron of hell.

The theme of this cauldron is still integrated in the Tangger Javanese rituals for the ascension (*entas* 2) of the departed souls, showing that a general link between liberation (*moksa*) and purification from evil (*lukat* or *ruwat*) is still to be found in certain parts of Java (cf. Hefner 1985).

An examination of the *Nawaruci*, the *Sutasoma* and other Javanese myths relating victories over man-eating (*porusada*) demons who are purified, defeated or converted, would not enhance our understanding of the historical predecessors of the *Murwa Kala*. However the last old Javanese text mentioned on the list above, the *Smaradahana* will require a long discussion. Before preceding, let us summarize the review of these older myths thus far. The two conclusions already obtained, viz. that the exorcisms require not only myths but also invocations, often not included in the literary versions of the myths; and that Durga and other deities placed at the door of death, stand also on the other side and are related to liberation from sin for those who have gained religious understanding. How closely do these older Javanese myths resemble the modern *Birth of Kala* ? Should the *Korawasrama* myths be considered more recent in Java because of itself similarity to the *Murwa Kala*? Similarity could be calculated the other way. It could be considered older because of its greater resemblance to certain Indian myths. In the next section the

closest immediate "predecessor" of the contemporary Javanese Murwa Kala will be studied.

2. INDIAN "PRECEDENTS" FOR THE JAVANESE MYTH OF THE SPILT SPERM

Tnere is one myth from old Javanese literature which retains a very special place, both vis-à-vis the contemporary Javanese myth of the birth of Kala from Siva's spilt sperm and because most of its episodes are directly related to an Indian prototype: the *Smaradahana* or *Burning of Love* tale (cf. Poerbatjaraka 1931). A discussion of its relation to the *Murwa Kala* (Birth of Kala) is best done in conjunction with similar stories found in the *purāṇa* (=old legend) corpus of Indian mythology. To situate the old Javanese *Smaradahana* will thus be the occasion here to settle once and for all the question of the direct indebtedness of the *Birth of Kala* story to any Indian prototypes. As can be seen in the Javanese *Manikmaya* epic's treatment of the *Genesis* figures of Adam and Eve, the setting and the names of the principal actors may be the same, but the treatment can be totally different.

What does it mean for the study of this corpus that one episode is present in all the versions and another episode present in only one of them? What should one make of the fact that certain episodes are almost always found in the same "place" whereas others are in any order, thus seeming to be free to be displaced. Is there such a thing as a constricting narrative framework at work here, or our these free-moving episodes prove that the structure is to be located at the level of the episode and not at the higher level of the narration of some ideal complete version? As we have seen, the beginning of the myth is clearly subject to much variation, but the ending of the exorcism if it is to be considered "successful" must accomplish a victory over Kala. The fact that this accomplishment will be as much a ritual one as a narrative one will be the subject of the pragmatic analysis of the mantra. Not all are strictly speaking narrative units, for the offerings for instance, just lay exposed hanging over the top bar of the wayang screen:

For the moment it suffices to remark that Hooykaas (1972:135) the only person so far to address this question, has isolated seven "elements" in contemporary Javanese and Balinese exorcisms.

1. the origin of Kala
2. the categories to which his victims belong
3. the escaping of his victims
4. the tricking of Kala by letting the dangerous moment pass
5. the role of the dhalang as the victor

6. the mantra to be used
7. the offerings made

One can clearly see that the elements that are remarkable by there presence or absence in a given version, are less subject to content change than those elements which are always present but rarely with the same characters or incidents. For example, the tricking of Kala (number 4) can be achieved by any number of incidents which blend in readily with the story-telling, whereas the contemporary mantra corpus, relatively fixed both in order and in number of mantra used, represents a complete break with the style of narration used in preceding centuries by priests. Even the idiosyncretic melody (*uro-uro*) of its recitative is unique. Finally one would expect that a myth narrated with theatrical supports for ritual purposes would have to contain changes in *genre* of narration.

A résumé by episode of the Javanese "Burning of the (god of) Love" (*Smara-dahana*) is worth giving in detail. To facilitate comparison with the Murwa Kala and Indian myths the scenes (defined by unity of place) will be numbered consecutively:

Scene 0. Introduction: description of lord Kama, the god of love, whom the poet will worship. The story concerns Kama in his corporeal form.

Scene 1. Since Siwa started doing penitance on Mt. Meru, heaven is threatened because no god can defeat the demon Nilarukdraka. Wrahaspati, councellor to the gods, proposes that Kama inflame Siwa's heart with love for his virgin wife Uma and that a child be begotten who alone can defeat this demon.

Scene 2. At Kama's residence, Wrhaspati promises the gods' aid if Siwa is angry, at being disturbed by Kama, but Kama's wife, Ratih, is unconvinced that this suffices to protect her husband in this task.

Scene 3.1. On Mt. Meru Kama performs an "anti-purification" by trying to bring Siwa down out of his penance to the attractions of corporeal love. His love darts fails to penetrate Siwa's heart, but an arrow of the five-senses makes Siwa see Uma on his lap. He then wakes up, assumes his terrifying form and attacks Kama who calls for help. But all the gods flee and Kama is burnt to ashes by the apocalyptic fire of Siwa the Destroyer.

3.2 The gods are foreced by Wrhaspati to return and persuade Siwa to revert to his non-violent form. They then remind him that it was Siwa himself who gave Nilarudraka his powers and said only a son of Siwa could defeat him. Nonetheless Siwa will only consent to reviving Kama in an immaterial (*suksma*)form.

Scene 4. Ratih in her home, on learning of her husband's death is devastated and in no way consoled by learning of his immaterial existence.

Scene 5. Arriving before Kama's ashes, Ratih enters the flame created by Siwa and dies in order to meet her husband Kama. Unable to unite for lack of bodies, they in turn enter the hearts of Siwa and Uma respectively.

Scene 6. His heart inflamed, Siwa leaves off his penance to empregnate Uma, whereupon the gods bring forward Indra's terrifying elephant, which frightens Uma into giving birth to an elephant-headed child, Gana, the remover of obstacles.

Scene 7. On hearing this the demon Nilalrudraka's army goes on the offensive. Mantra and yoga are used by the Gods to accelerate Gana's growth. He is given divine weapons. At the end of a pitched battle Gana kills the demon whom he promptly restores to life. The world is at peace. Siwa and Uma reign with their two sons Kumara and Gana, yet Siwa is really androgyne (*ardhanariswara*), for those who can unite their soul to the Lord.

Epilogue. The subsequent incaranations of Kama and Ratih are recounted, ending with the king of Dahana (=? Kediri), Kameswara and his queen Kirana, mentioned in an inscription of 1185 A.D. which would situate his reign in the middle of the XIIth century.

Zoetmulder (1974:297) was unable to explain why it is Ganesa that defeated the demon Nilarudraka and not Kumara or Skanda as in the Indian versions (i.e. Vth century Kalidasa's *Kumārasambhava*, trad. Tubini 1958). However he does not altogether exclude the possibility of Dharmaja's having known the work of the Indian poet Kālidāsa. Another important difference between the Javanese and the Sanskrit version is that Uma is a servant of Siwa not yet married to him. It is while she is doing meditation to attract him that Kama's arrows finally have an effect on Siwa. In Kālidāsa's work, Ratih only kills herself after this marriage and Wrhaspati is altogether absent from the story. But probably in other versions of this Indian myth analogies can be found to the Javanese *Smaradahana* and more importantly to the *Birth of Kala* myth whose relations with other Indian myths we are seeking.

In 1973 O'Flaherty published a study on Siva's ascetic and erotic roles in the Indian *Purāṇa* myths that permits one to trace the variants of this story quite completely. It is unlikely that the Javanese poet ever was directly familiar with any Sanskrit *kāvya* (if only because of the difficulty of their poetic language), however in studying the *Purāṇa*, given their vast multiformity, constantly reversing roles and episodes, one is sure to come across at least one or two versions of the "Burning of Love" that link it with the Birth of Kala story. That in and of itself however does not establish any paternity, because, as a perusal of O'Flaherty "motif's charts" (1973:22-23) shows, the Indian *Purāṇa* extrapolate almost every variation of any one motif. This fact leads one to

contrast the Javanese treatment of myths to the Indian one. Mytheme permutations as a phenomena have already been carefully studied by O'Flaherty and here it will suffice to summarize her findings concerning three of the forty-five themes she examines where Siva acts as either an ascetic, an erotic, or an erotical-acetic agent.

The historical approach that O'Flaherty takes as a historian of religion permits her readers to grasp the development over time of these permutations. Motif 21 and 44 concern Siva's (i.e. Guru's) seed. In Kālidāsa's famous poem the *Kumārasambhava* 2.60, Brahmā says: "Two things are capable of bearing the seed of Śiva and my seed, Pārvatī may bear Siva's seed and Siva's form as water may bear my seed." If one were to read this text with the hope of explaining the relation between the Javanese "Burning of Love" (*Smaradahana*) and the Javanese "Birth of Kala" purifications, one might see in Kālidāsa's explanation the reason why Guru seed falls into the ocean. Kālidāsa could even be imagined as the source of this motif. The facts are much more complicated however. Kālidāsa's literary version of the conflict between Śiva and Kāma must be put into historical perspective as O'Flaherty has done in order to understand why Śiva's sperm should have its place in water.

Śiva's role as an incestuous creator was wide-spread over at least three millenium in India both in tribal myths and in philosophical texts (the following references are borrowed from O'Flaherty). The form of the incest varied: father-daughter; son-mother, brother-sister. These variations can be charted in their historical evolution. It is not just that the philosophical texts stress the ascetic Śiva, chastizer of the incestuous Prajāpati (Creator) and the popular myths Śiva as the incestuous creator. Already the earliest texts (XV-XVIth century B.C.) used the myth as a ritual metaphor. Thus in the *Rig Veda* X.61.67 the poet says: "When the father, bent upon impregnating his own daughter, united with her and discharged his seed upon the earth, the benevolent gods generated prayer".

And in hymn III.31. 1-3 where the father is the priest, the daughter the sacrificial butter in the spoon, the son is the fire begotten by the priest, and the family's inheritance, the butter falls from the spoon (the daughter's womb) into the fire. Now the *Rig Veda* does not explicitly identify Śiva (=Rudra) with the father, but popular tradition did well before Sāyaṇa's (XIVth century A.D.) authoritative commentary. In the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* 8.2 it is clearly stated that the father is Rudra (=Śiva). In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* XIII.9-10 when Prajāpati (Creator) desires his daughter, having taken the form a stag, the gods attack him to prevent the incest, and his seed falls becoming a lake which the gods, notably Agni, contain with fire. The seed becomes the sun and the father flees

upwards becoming the constellation deer and his daughter the deer's head, which Prajāpati (=Śiva/Rudra) is not allowed to claim as his own.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.7.4.1-7 has only half the seed fall, which in turn the gods use for sacrifice. Only the sun (Savitṛ) can eat it. In the *Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa* VI.1-9 the disapproving gods are replaced by sons who participate in the incest with their father and their sister Dawn. They shed their seed which their father Prajāpati collects to make a golden vessel in which he places his own seed and out of which Śiva is born. These few texts taken from the Brāhmaṇa literature (Xth-VIIth century B.C. immediately following the *Rig Veda*), gives an image of the complexity of the variations of the fallen sperm motif in what may be called the properly Indian "permutating" style.

The full literary history of this evolution is richer than needed to understand the Javanese myth of the *Birth of Kala*. Philosophical texts of quality of the *Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* I.4.1-4 discussed how the golden egg (*hiraṇya-garbha,* i.e. Prajāpati) divided himself in half, creating the world from the self "I am" created a companion, a wife, or, according to Śaṁkara, a daughter. By the time the *Purāṇa* are being composed (roughly IVth B.C.-XIth A.D.), one finds that in the myth of the child (Skanda, "the emitted one"), Prajāpati's incestuous role is coupled with Śiva ascetic opposition to Kāma (god of Love) in the single person of Śiva. Skanda, his spilt-sperm son, is the god of sickness and the remover of obstacles. Given the complexity of the permutations this extra-uterine son undergoes, one is less tempted to make a quick and facile identification of certain of his characteristics with those of Kala, even if in Java the latter does bring sickness, etc.

On the other hand one cannot deliberately ignore all of the complexities of Indian mythology when discussing the Javanese *Birth of Kala* story for it is not an isolated example of a motif of Siva the erotic-ascetic being recounted in Javanese mythology. To cite only the most obvious example there is the archetypal Javanese hero Arjuna "praying with his body" (*Mintaraga,* cf Prihohoetomo 1953; Soedarsono 1986) who in his own Javanese way, is a reflection of these two central forces in Indian mythology which since the Vedas, are incarnate in the struggle between Kāma and Śiva (cf. O'Flaherty 1973:141-171). In the Javanese *wayang orang* dance version of this myth *Mintaraga*, and even in contemporary Javanese painting, the scene of Arjuna meditating despite the attention of charming *apsara* (fairies) surrounding him, summarizes this erotico-ascetic conflict, but in a very general way. In Javanese culture such an icon tells us *how* Arjuna prays, whereas Indian culture has a very different answer to this question as we shall see below.

O'Flaherty's researches have shown how the actual placing of the Kāma/Śiva conflict in the earlier context of the birth of Skandha was accomplished. The "fallen"

sperm is a late arrangement of the *Śiva Purāṇa*: in the earlier *Purāṇa*, as in the Javanese *Smaradahana,* Kāma is sent by Indra in order that Śiva stop meditating and beget a elephant-headed child capable of defending the heavens against the attack of a demon. In earlier verions, Skanda was begotten by Prajāpati's incestuous seed, and elsewhere from Agni's seduction of the sages' wives, and only in a latter stage from a general need of the gods for protection against Nilarudraka. In whatever version, and however the roles are permuted, O'Flaherty points out that (1973:141) "...most of the Purāṇas include the episode of Kāma, and the interaction of the forces which Śiva and Kāma represent is central to Indian culture from the time of the Vedas. Because of the remarkable continuity of that culture, the more elaborate and explicit myths of the *Purāṇa* may in fact capture and explain, as they purport to do, the often obscure meaning of the ancient tales".

It is useful to refer readers a bit overwhelmed by the plethora of episodes to O'Flaherty's (1973:30-32) full, reconstructed, synthetic summary of all the main episodes treating the conflict of Śiva and Kāma. It is useful to have gathered to get her in proper "order" all the episodes that are associated one to another (cf. appendix I).

3. KALA'S IDENTITY IN INDIAN MYTHOLOGY

3.1 SKANDA (THE EMITTED ONE) AND KALA

O'Flaherty's observation about the later myths being comments on earlier mythic treatments of the conflict of Śiva and Kāma is almost the indigenous historical view of Indian mythology. Throughout her work on Śiva, O'Flaherty has shown how these myths comment on earlier ones. Unavowed hermeneutics is one of the basic dimensions of Indian mythology. The permutations of episodes in Indian mythology can be understood as elucidation of other similar myths and this is what the *Purāṇa*'s did. Clearly this is not the only approach one could take. Biardeau, for instance, criticizes O'Flaherty (1975:119-212) for adoping this episodic perspective that flattens the corpus by never making a formal analysis of a single myth and often examining only segments of longer myths.

In the Indian setting of the Burning of Love (*Smaradahana*), can we already find any indication of Kala's nature which would explain his name later being used for the Javanese monster? For O'Flaherty (1973:152) the transferal of an ancient folk motif, that of the seduced ascetic to the plane of cosmological conflict between two powers, asceticism and lust, represented by Śiva and Kāma, is ultimately a reflection of the rise of Tantrism which can be said to triumph when it is the Goddess, Pārvatī who becomes the main personality in the myth. It is she, not Ratih, who seeks the revival of Kāma for

she becomes his essence after he is destroyed. Thus if the earlier variations of the myth involve Śiva playing the role of incestuous father (i.e. as did Prajāpati/Brahmā, the incestuous father of Dawn) as well as that of the anti-incestuous ascetic, beheading Brahmā/Ganesa, the later versions describe the fiery (ascetic) glance as Śiva's and the Soma (elixir of immortality that revives the dead) glance as Pārvatī's (O'Flaherty 1973:157).

As for identifying a demonic offspring of Śiva, it is true that the classical myth describes how Śiva the ascetic covers himself in the ashes of Kāma's burnt body and in another variant creates a demon from these ashes which disturbs the world until it is killed by the Goddess Devi. Despite these and other variants too numerous to discuss here, the fundamental opposition remains between Śiva who draws up his seed in chasity, and Kāma who would draw it down and out. In the Indian context Kāma is Śiva's antagonist and does not resemble the Javanese demon named Kala. There is also the difference of context in which the motif of the spilt seed (no.21&44, O'Flaherty 1973:22-23) is narrated in *Purāṇa* mythology and in Javanese myths. One can try to see this contextual disparity more clearly by re-examining the Indian Vedic antecedents of Kāma which in Java for Kala have no counterpart.

As was shown in section 2 the golden seed, belonging in earlier myth's to the Creator Prajāpati, is shed by Śiva/Agni in the myth of the "fallen one" (Skanda). It is not only the emitter of the seed that changes in the later myths, but also the theme, for in the cosmogonic myths of sexual creation by the passion, the fiery seed, being submerged in ocean, is replaced in the later myths by the conflict between the ascetic and erotic aspects of Śiva. The ithyphallic (*ūrdhvaliṅga*) iconography of Śiva represents, contrary to Western expectation, not the emission of seed but the drawing up of the seed (*ūrdhvaretas*), where by synecdoche "...the seed is often confused with the *liṅga* itself which is 'raised' in chastity." (O'Flaherty 1973:11). If the 'raised seed' is the natural image of chastity, in these myths it is only Pārvatī (Uma of Javanese mythology) who can transform Śiva from one whose seed is drawn up to one whose seed is fallen. Śiva's seed "falls" (*skand*) when he begets Skanda, yet he is described in the *Kumārasambhava* 9.14-15 as chaste at the very moment he gives Agni his seed. The paradox is summarized by O'Flaherty: "When the seed is drawn up, Śiva is the pillar (*sthāṇu*) of chastity, yet he is also the form of the erect liṅga...Śiva's chastity is his power of eroticism."

For having united with Pārvatī, Śiva is obliged to wander as a *kāpālika* (with a skull in his right hand) to replenish the power of *tapas* destroyed by the power of the *Kāma* (seed) (O'Flaherty 1973:56-57). And when Śiva couples with the sage's wives, he

re-enacts the sin which brought him to the forest in the first place. On the basis of her research on the ritual sacrificial post in South India, Biardeau (1975:121; 1989 passim), shows that Siva's pillar (identified with both the sacrificial pillar of Vedic ritual and the mythic axis of the world used for churning the ocean to produce *amṛta*) is also thus associated with the impurity produced by the putting to death of the victim. This is our first indication as to where to look for the demonic aspect of the Javanese Kala. Napier (1986:191), referring to Ceylonese Buddhism and its animistic purifications, has opposed deliverance and exorcism:'...the various techniques of curing rely on cosmological perspectives that deliberately distinguish themselves from one another and that explicitly emphasize their incommensurability." Does there exist in the Javanese Kala a fundamental reference to deliverence through Siva's intervention? A return to the Vedic myths of the spilt sperm will answer this question.

In the *Purāṇa* Śiva/Agni, the god of the golden seed, replaced the original golden seed itself which in the *Rig Veda* (cf. X.121. 1&9) designates an unknown god:

> "In the beginning the Golden Embryo arose. Once he was born, he was the one lord of creaton... "Who" is the god whom we show worship with oblation (O'Flaherty's translation 1981:26-27).

Thus "who?" in the penultimate verse of this hymn becomes the name of the Creator, identified with Prajāpati/Brahmā's golden seed. By the time of the Purāṇa's (circa 300 B.C.-1000 A.D.), Śiva is the god of the golden seed of which Agni is the personification. Thus the *Liṅga Purāṇa* 1.20.80-86:

> "Śiva is the seed of everything. During the primeval creation, the seed arising from his liṅga was placed in the womb of Viṣṇu, and in the course of time that golden seed became an egg and floated in the cosmic waters for a thousand celestial years. Then a wind split it in two, and the top half became the sky, the lower half the earth, and the yolk the golden mountain. Then, at sunset, the Lord of the Golden Womb was born and from him all the ascetics appeared."

and in the Mahābhārata XIII.17.40:

> "First Śiva created the waters and released his seed in them, and that became the golden egg. In the form of Agni he created the golden universal egg by shedding his seed."

Down to the present day in central India local myths concerning the primeval incestuous couple: son/mother, brother/sister (cf. Elwin 1939:325; 1949:293 cited by O'Flaherty 1973:114) continue to be told that do not figure the later episode of Śiva opposing Brahmā's incest, and even committing it himself. Śiva's castration, his *liṅga* falling to the earth even, is seen as a fertility act which is later replaced by the falling

of his seed and the birth of Skanda. Creation is the leitmotif that pervades them all. Whether it be creation by blood, sweat or tears, they are considered as productive: liquid flame, the molten gold that represents seed. Sweat for instance is considered the heat of lust and compared to the effacious heat generated by the priest in Vedic ritual (O'Flaherty 1973:272-273). The seed that falls to the earth is always effective, whether it be mistaken for Soma drunk for gaining immortality, or mistaken for poison and drunk in order to die, or like the burning seed of the Pine Forest be transformed into a flaming liṅga to be worshipped.

In Vedic mythology procreation can be recounted through the metaphor of mechanical production (the carpenter's skill in measuring and joining), or, as we have here, the metaphor of natural generation. Of the later there are three kinds (cf.A.A.Macdonell 1963:12:1). temporal generation where the prior member becomes parent: i.e. dawn is the mother of the sun; 2. generation by locality, the space which produces something is its parent: i.e. heaven and earth are the parents of the gods who consumes its rain and grains. This is reversable for the gods also create heaven and earth; 3. generic pre-eminence: whereby the chief member of a group is the father as in the case of the wind god Vāyu who is the father of the storm gods.

Thus in the Rig Veda there was ample range for protraying the creation of the universe from the seed of a primordial creator who commits incest with his daughter temporal generation), from the primodial ocean, the amniotic fluid in which the seed falls (generation by locality), or by imagery of Agni/Śiva's fire that destroys the whole universe. What the Javanese have retained of the creation theme associated with Śiva's golden seed is something quite different! For the Javanese the raped daughter of Śiva dies and from her corpse germinate all plants and mostly especially rice. Kala is not associated with creation in either the Indian or the Javanese accounts. From India to Java in what concerns cosmology, we have witnessed the passage from a metaphor of primordial creation by incest to the natural metaphor of the first plants growing from Sri's corpse (cf.S.Lévi 1933:XXVIII for the different names of rice using Sri's name).

O'Flaherty insists (1973:309-310), not withstanding Biardeau's critique (1975:121 and 1989:320ff.), that the motif of interruption, what accounts for the spilling of the seed, is in the context of Indian mythology the motif of a messenger who by interrupting Śiva and Pārvatī unites the worshippers with their god. Can this account for the birth of the caniverous demon of the Javanese *Murwa Kala* ? The persons who interrupt, are burnt to ashes (i.e.Kāma), given monkey faces (a result of a sexual curse), they are assigned to guard the doors, making links, potential mediations between such opposites as

eroticism and asceticism. The gods like Agni, are cursed by having to carry the burning seed, or to be reborn on earth. Even the poet Kālidāsa for having composed the *Birth of Kumāra* is cursed as an interrupter and forced to omit the cantos that graphically describe Śiva and Pārvatī's loveplay (O'Flaherty:1973:310).

One way of accounting for the constant reversal of roles that the myths display according to O'Flaherty (1973:311) is to observe the evolution of factors external to Śiva's personality i.e. the other characters in any given myth. If Śiva varies in function of the incestuous or ascetic qualities of Brahmā/Prajāpati etc., how can one ascertain the character of Śiva in any general sense? O'Flaherty (1973:316-317) proposes the following periodization:

c.1200 B.C. Rudra(Śiva), Indra and Agni pattern creation and destruction in the hymns and myths of *Veda's*.

c.900 B.C. Brahmā/Prajāpati introduce self-contradictory motif of the ascetic creator in the *Brāhmaṇa's*.

c. 300 B.C.-300 A.D. Agni and ascetics of the Mahābhārata epic illustrate the antinomy of the married ascetic.

c. 300 B.C.-1000 A.D. Śiva and Kāma in the *Purāṇa*'s provide no solution for the contradiction, but generate all the eventual patterns of its permutations.

c. 1000 A.D. Tantrism provides a philosophical rationalization of the combination of *yoga* and *bhoga* (asceticism and enjoyment) as conjunctions of opposites. The overcoming of the opposition of water and fire like that of asceticism and eroticism, both present without being mutually destructive, is considered to be a manifestation of divine peace (O'Flaherty 1973:317).

But if such is the philosophical progress of the Indian view of the erotic-ascetic, what is of interest to our effort to understand the relation of the *Murwa Kala* to these Indian myths is the respective functioning of the myths. The characteristic of *permutation* in the Puranic myth achieved by the use of recurrent symbols associated with ever-changing episodes and differing roles, is possible only because as O'Flaherty puts it (1973:318): "...the pulse of the myth constantly reasserts itself...The myth has no beginning and no end; it begins in the middle, as there is always some unknown episode from the past which shapes the events of the present, and there is always an unsatisfied curse, an unfulfilled prediction to carry us forward into the next episode."

3.2 KUMARA AND KALA

The existence of Sanskrit texts that speak of Kala as Kumara may have been known to Javanese litterati after the Xth century. Translations, however, of them have not come down to us. Certainly not the *locus classicus* of Kumāra in the Rig Vedic hymn V.2 concerning the birth of Agni, double image of a hidden child and of the kindling of the extinguished flame of a sacrificial fire. The Rig Veda was not translated into old Javanese even if different texts were labelled *veda*'s (=knowledge). Nor was the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* known in which there is (VI.I.3.1-7) a cosmogony of the universe from Prajāpati who heats himself through meditation producing water, which itself in turn produces foam, then earth, then sand, gravel, stone, mineral, gold and the earth which supports the Master of Beings and his wife, Dawn (Uṣas). This passage ends: "All these beings are the seasons, the one who is the master of the being is the year, and the one who is Uṣas is Dawn. These beings and the Master of beings, the year, spread semen (*retas*) in the Dawn; a Young Man (*Kumāra*) was born of the Year; he cried out.(v.8). The young man asked for a name (v.9) and Prajāpati said: "You are Rudra." Because he gave him this name, Agni (*Fire*) was his form, for Agni is Rudra. Because he cried out (*arodīt*) he was Rudra..." (Filliozat 1976:XVII, translation S.C.H.).

The subsequent names which Prajāpati gives to Kumāra-Rudra (cf. verses 11-18), correspond to the eight forms of Agni, Kumāra is the ninth. These names in fact are also names of Śiva-Rudra. It is Prajāpati (=Brahman) who gives them; it is normal for Kumāra is Prajāpati-Brahman's creation. Filliozat says that from the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* onwards, Kumāra-Skanda-Kāla is invested with this fundamental polymorphism (1976:XVII).

For instance in the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* there are three accounts of Kumāra's birth (*Vanaparva* ch.222; *Śalyaparvan* ch.45; *Anuśāsanaparvan.* ch.84-85 in Calcutta edition) How these became known to the Javanese as their shadow-puppet theatre is not clear for a Javanese written version of this text has never been attested to. Many of the incidents concerning Skanda recounted in the *Vanaparvan* could be used to explain features of the Javanese myths of Kala: his birth from Śiva's semen that falls into Agni is recounted ch.225 verse 16; ch.230 describes the convulsions with which he afflicts children; how he kills Mahisāsura is described in ch.231 v.96 (but Java iconography attributes this feat to Durga); finally his many names are listed in ch.232. Thus the demonic traits of the Javanese Kala could be traced to certain episodes in the Sanskrit Puranic myths. Drawing parallels in this manner is not very convincing for methodological reasons; direct copying is less likely than adaptation. Nonetheless for the

sake of completeness it is worthwhile to indicate briefly the manner of the transfer of sin from the gods to men for, at least exteriorily, this indeed seems to be what happens in the Javanese myth of the Birth of Kala: Śiva's fault becomes men's affliction (O'Flaherty 1976, has devoted a whole study to the question of the origins of evil in Hindu mythology).

The representation of dismembered evil as detached from the sexual organ of a god is illustrated in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 2.369-70: "In the beginning, Prajāpati was alone and wanted to procreate; seeking in vain a second, a female, he saw the Brahmin and asked him to procreate with him, but the Brahmin refused, saying, 'No, for you are in the grasp of evil; evil is upon your head (the organ which is removed in the punishment for incest in many myths)..." (O'Flaherty 1976:140).

If the fallen semen of Śiva is the example *par excellence* of human distress originating from the fallen essential fluids of a gods, we have yet to encounter texts where it is explicitly called *aṁha, kalmāsa,* or *pāpa,* that to say *kāla,* evil. If the pattern of creation from a dismembered god in the *Veda,* was benevolent, it is possible that the creation from a detached element of a god is malevolent. If the god of fire Agni (O'Flaherty 1976:144-5), removes pollution, it is because like speech (Vāc) Agni has the property of wiping off sins (cf. *Tāṇḍya Mahābrahmaṇa* 6.5.10-13). Agni hides in the waters of the ocean and is discovered by the gods who in return for the favor of his return to their heaven is allowed to become their food and offering-eater (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 2.6.6.1-5).

Another mytheme that reminds us of the Javanese demon Kala, stems from Indra killing of the serpent Vṛtra, the Brahmin demon who has conquered the world. O'Flaherty remarks (1976:148) that as in the earlier Agni myths, "...a 'good' thing is collected; later the corresponding 'bad' thing is redistributed in the very sources from which the 'good' had been collected ...When Indra had killed Vṛtra, his power and strength went into the earth and appeared as plants and roots; the cattle ate the plants and the gods milked the cattle; Indra drank the milk and regained his strength...Thus Vṛtra is identified with Soma (which he had captured by encircling it); but Soma, like Vṛtra, comprises all sorts of evil of nature and moral life; the treacherous Soma and Agni are identified with Vṛtra in very early myths (cf.Rig Veda 10.90)."

In the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* I.6.3.17 the corpse of Vṛtra is divided in a demonic and good half, the Soma half surviving in the moon and the bad half surviving in the stomach of all creatures. The hunger of the bad half identified with fire of Agni had a counterpart in the fever with which the god of Love, Kāma, afflicts Śiva, until he had

given it to his son Kubera who in turns gives it to men driving them mad (cf. *Vāmana Purāṇa* 6.45-55 and O'Flaherty 1976:162). The Mahābhārata 12.274.36-59 explains that fever arose when, as he destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice, a drop of sweat fallen from Śiva's forehead became an apocalyptic fire. Incarnated as a man on earth, he would have destroyed all humanity if Brahmā had not persuaded Śiva to control this man Fever. The parallel with Nārada's intervention on behalf of humanity with the Javanese Siva is striking. In many versions of the Javanese Birth of Kala Nārada forces Śiva/Guru to admit his paternity of the spilt sperm and later to limit the number of victims Kala is permitted to devour.

Despite of all the parallels drawn above, the apotropaic Kala of Java and Bali has a iconographic (masked) and theatrical form which is specifically Indonesian. One author (cf. Napier 1986, ch.6) attributes it to local manifestations of horror and danger, and their corresponding postures of submission. In any case it would be very surprising to find a close replica of Kala's Indian traits in a cultural milieu as rich as that of Java and Bali which "has no place" for the enormous mythological corpus of variants which we have found in India surrounding Śiva the erotic-ascetic. For instance, in Bali, Rangda's tongue bears Agni's destructive fire and the self-stabbing (*onying*) of the Balinese villagers is due to Śiva's having lost his seed on a nearby mountain creating havoc in the village which Barong will restore by exorcizing Rangda. This requires local actors for the ritual. The ritual will be realized by the village youth whose experience is not that of the Sanskrit Puranic myths, but of transe dances when Rangda and Barong appear at the gates of their local temple

3.3 TAMIL CONTEXTS OF THE BIRTH OF KUMARA MYTH

Thus the Javanese *Birth of Kala* myth is not, at least in the Puranic manner, a permutation of a preceding Indian myths. As shall be seen shortly, Java purifications, whatever their storyline, are about exorcizing! What distinguishes the Sanskrit *Birth of Skanda* is that Siva is both an erotic and an ascetic! No matter how many of these traits which may show up in the Javanese *Murwa Kala* story and which are to be also found in a given episode of the Indian myths, at no point is the giant Indian corpus of internal variants at work structurally in the Javanese myth.

Up till now this Indian corpus has been treated in a very summary way as homogenous which is clearly not the case. However vast the influence of the Indian mythology expressed in Sanskrit, it is certain that Kala in south Indian, Dravidian traditions is not the same as in north Indian, Indo-European traditions. Not that we can trace

Kala back to an entirely Dravidian, completely non Indo-European tradition, but Tamil literature, for instance, has not contented itself with simply translating the Sanskrit Puranic mythology. Many indigenous Tamil oral traditions have of course been written down in prose and poetry. A summary contrast of Sanskrit and Tamil traditions concerning Kala will enable us to better understand the kind of indebtedness of the Javanese and Balinese myths have to Indian ones by analogy to the indebtedness of the Tamil myths to the Sanskrit corpus.

The fundamental difficulty is to know in a given cultural tradition (Sanskrit, Tamil, or Javanese) who is designated by the name of Kala. The actual birth of Kala in the Javanese shadow-puppet theatre refers, at least by his manner of birth, to the Indian figure of Skanda (the fallen of emitted one) as we have seen above. Skanda is also known as Subrahmanya, Sanatkumāra, and above all, as Kumāra, the "young one". The Sanskrit Puranic traditions concerning Kumāra (cf. V. Mani 1979:747-749) begin by describing the birth of the demon Tārakāsura whose subsequent attacks on the gods continue unabated bacause Śiva and Pārvatī pursue their love-making for a thousand years. Interrupted by the divinities who come to him for help, Śiva lets his semen fall to the earth which is ovewelmed by it until Agni consumed it. Pārvatī then curses the earth and the gods for having prevented her from having a child (cf. Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa canto 36). Subsequently (by anachronism) Śiva goes into meditation over Satī's death and Pārvatī does penance in order to get Śiva as a husband. Agni's glow does not cease to diminish 5000 years after he swallowed Śiva's sperm. So he gives it to the goddess Gaṅgā (i.e. the river) to put in the ocean, and yet he nonetheless remains *hiraṇyaretas* ("golden-spermed"). Gaṅgā also discards the sperm at Brahmā's suggestion, placing it after 5000 years in the *śara* grass-woods at Udaya mountain. Ten thousand years later a child Kumāra, or Skanda is born. The six Kṛttikās (Pleiades) breastfeed him, making him become six-faced (*ṣaṇmukha*). Śiva arrives to decide whose child it is and has the gods come together wherupon Kumāra takes on four bodies. Śiva gives him six names one of each for each "parent": the six mothers, Kṛttikās, get Kārttikeya (belonging to Kṛttikās), Gaṅgā gets Kumāra, Pārvatī gets Skanda, Śiva gives himself Guha ("the hidden one"), Agni is given Mahāsena, the forest where he was born is given Kumāra with the name of Śaravana (i.e.Sara forest's). The gods then go off with Kumāra as their general to the Kurukṣetra field of battle to attack the demons who are led by Tārakāsura and Mahiṣāsura. This "young man" (Kumāra) is consecrated general by Śiva and Viṣṇu with water from the seven seas and all the gods give him presents: Pārvatī gives Skanda clothes, Gaṅgā gives Kumāra the water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) of *sannyasin*'s, etc. In the sub-

sequent battle between the demons (*asura*) and the gods, Kumāra kills Tāraka. Later because he was fondled too often by Pārvatī, Skanda later becomes dissolute to the point of raping goddesses. But when his "mother" Pārvatī shows him her image that is in all women he takes a vow of celibacy in repentance (cf. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 81). Later episodes involve his marriage to Devasenā, his fight with Krishna and Arjuna during the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest where he employs his weapon, the *śakti* (*Ādiparva* 226. 133), the falling of semen on Agni (*Vanaparva*, 225.16), and how, after his marriage, Skanda tells his mother to live till Skanda is sixteen years old with Śiva and to eat the flesh of all the children he kills. In this episode he appears from his own body in a form resembling Agni (cf. *Vanaparva* ch.230).

Now this Sanskrit Puranic corpus with its variant episodes is clearly centered on the occasion of his birth necessitated by the fight against the *asura*'s as was the Birth of Gana (i.e. the Burning of Love, *Smara-dahana*). The subsequent dispersed incidents that are related in various parts of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇa*'s are clearly secondary. However, if one compares the Tamil *Kandapuranam* (*History of Skanda,* cf. Dessigne & Pattabiramin's résumé 1967:16-17), one finds that the circumstances of his birth are discreetly and hastily recounted in the very beginning of the texts as follows:

> Chapter II. the Birth of ARumukaN (Skanda): (The deities interrupt Siva and Parvati on Mt. Meru in order to gain Siva's aid against the demons' attacks, Siva produces six heads each producing sparks which dry up the earth and the oceans.)"
>
> Umai (=Parvati) who was with her husband at that time, ran to her private chambers terrified. MuntakaN (=Brahman) and the others fled in all directions. But they quickly returned to Kannutal (Siva) and implored his protection. He made his five new heads disappear and ordered the sparks to return. He told the fire and the wind to take them in their hands and to leave them in the water of the Kankai, so that it would bear them down to be deposited in the Caravanam (=Śara grass wood's) pond. The two gods hesitated afraid of the sparks so Siva rendered them imperious to the their effects (stanzas 512-73).
>
> MarutaN (*Vayu*, the *wind*) took the sparks and went off towards the Kankai followed by Vanni (*AkkiNi*). After having covered a certain distance he gave them to Vanni who carried them to the Kanaki where he left them. The river dried up but by the grace of Aran (=Siva), it regained its water and carried the sparks down to the pond of Caravanam. The tevar (divinities) who following the stream of water had stopped at that point, placed themselves around the pond and waited anxiously to see what would happen (stanza 74-91).
>
> From the water of the Caravanam emerged several minutes later, Murukan (Kumara), with a shining body, six heads and twelve arms. In the form of a baby, he was stretched out on a lotus (stanza 92-113).

> The tevar (divinities) looked at him and admired him. They called to the nymphs Karttikai (Pleiades) and asked them to raise the baby with care. (stanza 114-115). (English translation S.C.H.).

As Jean Filliozat has shown (1973:X-XXXIV), the Tamil tradition simply underlines the most prominent feature of Kumāra that he is "forever young" (Sanatkumāra). The overwhelming bulk of the *Kandapuranam,* some 95% of the text, is concerned with the subsequent adventures of this young god, who because he is by essence eternal, will always remain young. Portraying characteristics of both Agni (fire) and Śiva-Rudra (whose son he is), the Skanda of Tamil literature, for all the subsequent developments its literature permits, remains on one point faithful to the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* traditions. It insists upon the necessity of having a *young* son of Śiva born to defeat Tāraka, the general of the demon armies. Son without a mother, the pure seed of Śiva, as Filliozat points out (1976:XXXI), Kumāra has several filiations: Umā desired him but did not receive him, while Gaṅgā, the earth, and the Kṛttikā collaborated in his birth as did Brahman whose advice to the Gods provoked his birth.

Clearly the Javanese Kala for having been born in the same extra-uterine manner as Kumāra is nonetheless very different. If the Tamil Kumāra is eternally *young* therefore a powerful god the Javanese Kala is first of all bad because demonic. Where can this demonic nature of the Javanese Kala-Kumara have come from?

4. JAVANESE CONTEXTS OF THE BIRTH OF KALA

To make an analogy, the fact that Kenyak tribemen in Borneo use Venetian glass-beads to designate social rank does not mean that they participate in northern Italian aesthetics of decoration or the technological conservatism that accounts for the continued production in Venice over the centuries of these beads. In the same way the fact that the Javanese *Murwa Kala* story uses what are also Indian motifs to explain creation, curses and their expiation only shows that they at some time were cogniscent and attracted by the similarities of mythemes between their two cultures. A closer comparison of the incestuous origin of Kala and the subsequent death of his raped mother with south Sulawesi, or eastern Indonesian mythologies concerning the origin of cultivated plants would show even greater similarities . Here the borrowings in nomenclature would be from Java toward the smaller islands. The obvious problem in comparisons between different cultural areas is that at a certain level of generality, the structure of the myths reveals motifs that are identical (i.e. the unravelling of a curse leads to the restoration of an origianl form or the fault of a god at creation presents a danger for mankind, cf.

O'Flaherty 1976:139-173), but this identity tells us nothing of the role the myths played amongst the indigenous society's other myths. Quite simply, if comparison, and eventually proof of borrowings, is going to be useful it is always in the way it can be shown to have effected the two culture' mythology *locally*!

Therefore it behoves us to return to Java and to concentrate on the properly exorcistic predecessors to the contemporary *Murwa Kala* myth! For what else than the *means* of purification, the style of the prayer as a communicative act, can distinguish it from the multitude of stories concerning the pacification man-eating demons to be found throughout East and South Asia? How did the Javanese themselves situated this *Birth of Kala* story amongst their other early myths, whether they be used as exorcisms or not? It is useful to have used for such a comparison a yardstick, of praxis, such as the kinds of mantra employed to perform these ritual purifications. Now we must address the more complicated problem of the "site" of the Birth of Kala in the context of Javanese mythic landscape. Where does the myth of the *Murawa Kala* fit in?

Debates on the transfer of mythemes from one culture to another is of course an old question first posed in Europe in the late 1600's (cf. Felman and Richardson 1972). Viewed from the standpoint of comparative folklore (cf. Numazawa 1953:182-192) the spilt sperm motif is linked to the separation of sky and earth. This approach has the advantage of bringing to the fore the numerous neighboring Indonesian myths that treat this theme without recourse to Sanskrit nomenclature. The archeologist F.D.K. Bosch (1960) starting from monster and tree motifs developed another approach in his book on the Golden Germ which invites us to consider why Kala, the god of time, called the all-devouring, is associated with the lion-head motif in Indian (*kīrtimukha,* or *siṁhamukha*) and Javanese (*banaspati* or *kala*) decorative art. In other words the *Rig Veda* may not have been brought to Java as a text, but iconographic elements mirroring its conceptions are expressed in sculpture, motifs which the Javanese both reworked in an original way, never considering them truly Indian in the sense of foreign. This approach will be dealt with briefly as it shows in which context of Javanese mythology the *Birth of Kala* myth was integrated. Only there will the units of discourse, the episodes of Indian mythemes become a analysable phenomena.

Kala, the spilt sperm of the *Smara Dahana* myth is not the only instance of sperm or fire being placed in the ocean that Javanese literati remarked upon in Indian mythology. Linked to the motif of Siwa's spilt sperm that falls into the ocean, is the Indo-European myth of the mare (cf.O'Flaherty 1980:ch.6), a goddess who can bless or destroy. She was known in Java and Bali via India as a mare beneath the sea, the

doomsday mare from whose mouth an inextinguishable fire issued. The link in classical Indian myths is the following (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 2.3.20.1-23 and others cf.O'Flaherty 1980:234):during the struggle to interrupt Śiva's meditation, the flame that reduces the god of love Kāma to ashes is said to be the fire of doomsdays. It is made by Brahmā into a fire of suppressed anger in the form of a mare. It is not only the seventeenth century Javanese text the *Korawasrama* (Swellengrebel:1936:ch.XIII & pp.24-39) which mentions this subterranean "horse-headed" fire (*wadawanala*=Sanskrit *vaḍavānala*). Hooykaas (1964:107-117) gives at least ten sources ranging from the tenth to the twentieth century which mention this fire which can devour the ocean. The Indian myth(s) behind this motif concerns the anger of a certain sage named Aurva, anger which he places in the ocean.

In the *Harivaṁśa* version: *"The sage was urged by his friends to beget children. He consented, but foretold that his progeny would live by the destruction of others. Then he produced from his thigh a devouring fire (i.e. sperm/child) which cried out with a loud voice, 'I am hungry let me consume the world. The various regions were soon in flames, when Brahma intervened to save his creation, and promised the son of Aurva a suitable abode and maintenance. The abode was to be at Badava-mukha, the mouth of the ocean; for Brahma was born and rests in the ocean, and he and the newly produced fire were to consume the world together at the end of each age and at the end of time to devour all things with the gods, Asura and Ràshasas."* (Hooykaas quoting from Dowson's *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* 1950:32-33).

In Java Badavang Nala (= Vaḍavānala, the fire of the Mare) bares the world along with the snake Anantabhoga. Pigeaud (1980:XXIII) has reproduced a drawing of an exorcism of a ricefield near Sentolo (to the west of Yogyakarta) wherin nude peasants carry a wooden panel (*tlawingan*) portraying Dhawang (=Badhawang Nala). The mare has become simply the chtonic tortoise, and there is no question of ocean. Purifying "by" versus "of" can often be a fine line. As Hooykaas points out (1963:109) the use of fire to purify parallels that of water to cleanse in the Balinese Siwaism. The most striking example of this is the mask of the Barong during the exorcism of Rangda (=Durga) during the village temple festivals (*odalan*) in Bali. The flame surrounding the mask (*sesemping*) creates an disembodied flaming head that has been identified with the flaming underwater mare (Napier 1986:215).

However if as late a text as the seventeenth century, *Kaurawasrama* could (1936:78) still mention *badavang* (=*vaḍavā*, the mare) and mean the fire that consumes the offerings of the *aśva-medha* or Indian horse sacrifice, it is clear that this mare was

not exclusively identified with an Indonesian mythic animal bearing the universe on its back. Contemporary Balinese didactic texts (*Badhawang Nalatutur* cf.Leiden Oriental Ms. 14714) dealing with the care of the dead, also describe the Badavang Nala as a frightening animal that stands at the sole of a man's foot after his death.

5. CONCLUSION

Javanese wayang theatre's treatment of Indian myths, and the elaboration of purely Javanese plots involving the Javanese "branches (*carangan*)" of these Indian Mahabharata episodes, has proved hard to define (cf.Feinstein 1986:vol.I pp.XVII-L). Should the latter be called "stemming" (*?=carangan*) in line the indigenous Javanese plant metaphors? Is it just story tellers spinning out other new tales and no longer myths? However useful a better knowledge of the mantra of Javanese exorcisms (cf.section 1 above), and the Indian mythology of spilt sperm (cf.sections 2, 3 & 4), we are obliged to recongnize the fact that the *Brith of Kala* stories has been situated by Javanese dhalang and literati in a corpus of plays that are collected and arranged to provide a mythic history of the island of Java. This is illustrated by the rather bizarre Ranggawarsita version of the Birth of Kala that was translated from the Javanese at the beginning of this article. Here we have the Javanese counterpart to permutation in the Indian Puranic myths discussed above (section 3). In the nineteenth century at least, this was the genre of, amongst others, Ranggawarsita (+1881), the last generation of court chroniclers-writers who, beginning with Yasadipuro Ist, had been rewriting in modern Javanese the middle or old Javanese texts no longer accessible even to the most educated readers. This "inculturation" of a broader historical awareness brought by the Dutch lasted some one hundred and twenty-five years (1757-1881). It remains the topic of on-going research (Ricklefs 1978:211-222; Day 1981; & Behrend 1987:352-384). Following the Dutch fragmentation of the last centrally unified Javanese kingdom in 1757, certain Javanese historians were thus moved to explore the mythology of the pre-Dutch, pre-Muslim origins of Java. The *Birth of Kala* story as told by Ranggawarsita in his *Pustaka Raja Purwa* zigzags between Islamic denegrations of the Hindu-Javanese pantheon of gods on the one hand, and a curious feeling for history in which Islam is made to come earlier in time by reference to the Middle East, but later in time when speaking of the earliest Javanese mythical events. The *geografi jiwa* (praeternatural geography) invoked permits changing time scales according to location.

As we have tried to show here, the same "spiritual" geography was used to situate the Indian mythemes of the Birth of Kala. To localize the most probable Sanskrit or

Tamil source for such and such a trait of a Javanese myth is a methodological error. One must first consider the principles behind the permutations in Indian mythology of the mytheme in question, and then the Javanese or Balinese *geografi jiwa* which led to its being situated in the indigenous Indonesian corpus of myths. It is only at this point that the classical philological method of textual dependence versus relatedness can be usefully employed. Unlike the Ramayana, the Birth of Kala (*Murwa Kala*), as theatre and exorcism, can not as yet be shown to relate directly to any known Indian source. The motif of spilt sperm is certainly important in Indian Puranic myths, but not as the cause of *sukerta* requiring exorcism as in these Javanese puppet plays. Hooykaas in his masterly study of Kama and Kala (1973:306-315) sums up the opposition of these two figures by saying that Kala is conquered by Kama. This is true only if one understands that the dhalang is Kama at the same time as Visnu. Or as Hooykaas says the dhalang "deserves to be called Kama, just like those who pronounce the AKU (="I") formulas play the role of the highest gods at those moments" (1973:314). This is already a Balinese vision of things. The dhalang becomes the person who voice he impersonates. Such a pragmatic feeling for speech could only be rooted in the languages used in the plays and hence in Nusantarian speech acts. Kala for having spoken in Javanese has become Javanese. Wheras, if one had started from a standard contemporary dhalang's version of the Birth of Kala myth, a strong case could have been made for its Indian origin, here I have tried to show how narrow and artificial such an vision is. Ranggawarsita's version (if indeed a myth can be said to have an author) of Birth of Kala has been woven into a typically Javanese waft. The technique of assimilation cannot even be compared to *ikat* for not even the threads of the warp were dyed in India. Kala was born in Java!

APPENDIX I

"When Brahmā's tapas (=heat of asceticism) failed to create, he made Kāma, who wounded him. Brahmā desired his daughter, who fled him, taking the form of a deer. He pursued her in the form of a stag, and his seed fell upon the ground and was offered as an oblation into the fire, where it created various sages and animals. Rudra pursued Brahmā and beheaded him, and Brahmā cursed Kāma, who had inspired this incestuous passion in him, to be destroyed by Śiva, and Śiva, who had mocked him, to be excited by Kāma."

"Dakṣa, a son of Brahmā, gave his daughter Satī in marriage to Śiva, but he did not invite Śiva to his sacrifice. Satī, in anger, burnt herself to death. Śiva destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice and beheaded Dakṣa, but when the gods praised Śiva, he restored the sacrifice and gave Dakṣa the head of a goat."

"When Śiva learned that Satī had killed herself, he took up her body and danced in grief, troubling the world with his dance and his tears until the gods cut the corpse into pieces. Where the yoni fell, Śiva took the form of a linga, and peace was re-established in the universe."

"The demon Tāraka usurped the throne of Indra, for Brahmā had promised Tāraka that he could only be killed by a son born of Śiva, who was deeply absorbed in asceticism. Satī was born again as Pārvatī, the daughter of the mountain Himālaya and his wife Menā. When Nārada told them that their daughter was to marry Śiva, they were at first displeased, for they did not consider Śiva to be a suitable husband, but Pārvatī wished to marry him. Indra sent Kāma (in the form of a breeze) to inspire Śiva with desire for Pārvatī, but Śiva burnt Kāma to ashes with the fire of his third eye. Pārvatī then performed tapas to obtain Śiva for her husband, and Śiva appeared before her disguised as a brahmacārin and tested her by describing all the qualities that made Śiva an unlikely suitor — his ashes, three eyes, nakedness, and antipathy to Kāma, his snakes and garlands of skulls and his home in the burning grounds. When Pārvatī remained steadfast in his devotion to Śiva, the god revealed himself and asked her to marry him. He then sent the Seven Sages to Himālaya to ask for Pārvatī on his behalf."

"When Śiva had burnt Kāma, the combined blaze of their fires threatened to destroy the universe. The gods beggged Śiva for protection, and his fire was given to a river to carry to the ocean, where it assumed the form of a mare with flames issuing forth from her mouth, devourting the ocean waters while waiting for doomsday and the final flood."

"Meanwhile, the wedding preparations took place, and Śiva's ascetic garments served in the place of the conventional ornaments of a bridegroom. At the wedding, Brahmā himself acted as the priest, but he was excited by the sight of Pārvatī and shed his seed upon the ground. Śiva threatened to kill him and replace Brahmā as creator, but Viṣṇu placated Śiva and demonstrated to him the necessity of fulfilling his own role as destroyer. The seed of Brahmā was made into the clouds of doomsday in the sky."

"After the wedding, Rati, the wife of Kāma, came to Śiva and begged him to revive Kāma. Pārvatī interceded on Kāma's behalf and Śiva revived him. Śiva began to make love to Pārvatī, but one day he teased her for having a dark skin, and as her pride was hurt, she departed in order to perform tapas to obtain golden skin. While she was gone, the demon Adi came there in order to kill Śiva. Taking the form of a snake in order to elude the doorkeeper, he then assumed the form of Pārvatī, having placed adamantine teeth within his yoni. Śiva made love to the false Pārvatī, but when he realized the deception he killed the demon with his own liṅga."

"When Pārvatī returned, having obtained great tapas and a golden skin, Śiva again began to make love to her, but his powers began to diminish after he had indulged in sexual pleasures for so many years, and for this reason he was challenged by the demon Andhaka. Śiva went away to the Pine Forest to perform a vow of tapas, and while he was gone Andhaka came to Pārvatī in the from of Śiva in order to seduce her. Andhaka had been born one day when Pārvatī covered the three eyes of Śiva and a drop of sweat had fallen into the third eye; Pārvatī was thus his mother, but he was overcome for lust for her. Pārvatī recognized that he was not Śiva, and she disappeared. Śiva then returned and impaled Andhaka upon his trident burning him with the fire of his third eye and purifying him of his sins. Andhaka then became the son of Śiva and Pārvatī."

"While Śiva had been away performing his vow of tapas, the earth had begun to shake and the gods begged Śiva to discontinue his tapas. Śiva complied, but when the earth continued to tremble, he went ot seek the cause and discovered the sage Mankanaka, who was dancing with joy because of a miracle: when he had cut his thumb on a blade of grass, vegetable sap flowed from the wound instead of blood. Śiva then pierced his own thumb, and ashes as white as snow flowed from the wound, and Mankanaka stopped dancing."

"Śiva then wandered into the Pine Forest, and the wives of the sages there fell in love with him and followed him everywhere. Śiva was naked, ithyphallic, dancing, and begging with a skull in his hand. The sages became furious and cursed his liṅga to fall to the ground. The liṅga fell but began to cause a terrible conflagration; Brahmā and

Viṣṇu tried in vain to find the top and bottom of it, and peace was restored only when the sages agreed to worship the liṅga, together with their wives.

"When Śiva had entered the Pine Forest, Viṣṇu assumed the form of Mohinī in order to seduce the sages while Śiva seduced their wives. When Śiva saw the beauty of Mohinī, he embraced her and a child was born from his seed, (Mohinī was the form that Viṣṇu had assumed in order to seduce the demons, when, at the time of the churning of the ocean, they had stolen the Soma; at this time, Śiva had saved the gods by drinking the blazing poison that had emerged from the ocean, threatening the universe)."

"When Śiva returned to Pārvatī and began to make love to her again, the gods were frightened of the friction generated by their great love-play and they worried that it would fail to produce the son they needed, or that the son produced in this way would be a danger for the universe. Indra sent Agni (in the form of a bird) to their bedroom, and when Agni interrupted them, Pārvatī cursed the god's wives to become as barren as she was. Agni drank the seed of Śiva, and all the gods became pregnant with the seed. When they could bear it no longer, the seed was placed in the river Ganges, who threw it up on a clump of weeds. There is was taken up by the six Kṛttikās (mothers/Pleiades) who bathed there and from them Skanda was born." As will be shown below much of Tamil mythology actually begins the story of Skanda here in order to recount subsequent local gestes that take place in their locality.

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SANSKRITIC CONTINUITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, THE *ṢAḌĀTATĀYĪ* AND *AṢṬACORA* IN JAVANESE LAW

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One of the persistent issues within the classical period of Southeast Asian history is that of cultural influences stemming from the Indian subcontinent. What kind and how durable are most often raised with regard to monuments of art and architecture. For Java the temple complexes of Borobudur, Prambanan, and Panataran come most readily to mind in this context. The issue is likewise raised in connection with literary products as, for example, the influence of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa on the wayang and in religious expression as that of the kingdoms of the ninth to fourteenth centuries or of contemporary Bali.

Less often has the impact and persistence of foreign legal concepts been addressed. The Indian-derived *ṣaḍātatāyī* or "Six Tyrants" and *aṣṭacora* or "Eight Thieves."[1] were of considerable importance to Javanese *pradata* (=criminal) law.[2] Appearing as early as the ninth century, the Sanskritic concepts continued to play a key role in Java's legal procedure well into the eighteenth century. Of course any study of the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* of necessity takes as its starting point the contents of the *Ślokāntara* and *Wratiśāsana* edited by the late Dr. Sharada Rani.[3] The present essay is an, albeit, modest tribute to the inspiration Dr. Rani's work gives us for a critical appraisal of Indic cultural influences in Southeast Asia.

The essay is divided into two sections. First, the various terms comprising the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* are presented in tabular form. In addition to the *Ślokāntara* and *Wratiśāsana* they are also found in a number of texts whose contents have become avail-

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[1] For references to the concepts in the voluminous Sanskrit legal literature, including Manu IX.278; Yājñavalkya II.276, Nārada, etc., See P.V.Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, 5 vols. (Poona: Bandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1930-1962). As the *aṣṭaduṣṭa* or "Eight Malefactors" are so closely interwoven with the *aṣṭacora* for puposes of this essay the two have been combined.

[2] For *pradata* (criminal) and *padu* (civil) law see Mason C. Hoadley, *Colonial Impact, Selective Judicial Competency, and the Cirebon-Priangan Legal Administration, 1680-1796* (will be published by the Cornell University, Ithaca, New York).

[3] Sharada Rani, ed., *Ślokāntara, an Old Javanese Didactic Text; and Wratiśāsana* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1957 and 1961).

able in the recent years, including the *Adigama,*[4] *Agama,*[5] and *Ślokāntara* of Senapati Jimbun.[6] Second, their utilization in actual litigation is discussed within the context of the Javanese legal distinction between *pradata* and *padu* law forms. The essay closes by noting the concepts' presence or absence elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

The *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* Tables 1 and 2 summarize the contents of the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* in a number of texts. Following general praxis, they are grouped into those of Java/Bali and Java proper based upon provenance of the oldest extant manuscript. To the former, texts preserved by re-copying by Balinese scribes, belong the *Ślokāntara, Wratiśāsana, Agama* and *Adigama.* Javanese texts are represented by LOr. no.s 7440 and 7410 and particularly the section identifying itself as the "*Ślokāntara* of Senapati Jimbun."

As regards the extant manuscripts' date the situation is far from clear. For example, of the four manuscripts used for the textual edition of the *Ślokāntara* two lack dates, the other two are dated śaka 1675=1753 AD, and śaka 1733=1810 AD; that for the *Wratiśāsana* is unknown; the *Agama's* two manuscripts are from 1814 and 1876 by date of acquisition; the unpublished *Adigama* contains the dates śaka 1723=1796 AD and śaka 1630=1706 AD; while the youngest date found in the *Ślokāntara* of Senapati Jimbun is AH 1219=1804 AD. Elsewhere the author has argued that the original *Agama* text took its present form in the mid-sixteenth century; the *Ślokāntara* of Senapati Jimbun is ascribed to before 1677 and the demise of Mataram control over West Java.[7]

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[4]A precis of the *Adigama* is found in M.C. Hoadley and M.B. Hooker, "The Law Texts of Java and Bali," in M.B.Hooker, ed., *The Laws of South-East Asia, Volume 1, The Pre-Modern Texts* (Singapore: Butterworth, 1986): 326-331.

[5]M.C. Ḥoadley and M.B. Hooker, *An Indtroduction to Javanese Law. A Translation of and Commentary on the Agama.* (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1980), Monograph of the Association for Asian Studies no.37

[6]The manuscript in question is Leiden Oriental [hereafter LOr.] 7440 which, along with its sister LOr. 7410, originates from the Priangan regencies of Bandung and Sumedang. Both were owned, possibly before passing into Dutch hands, by respectively the Regent of Bandung and the *jaksa* or judge of Sumedang, both active in the early 1700s. For the purposes of Tables 1 & 2 the section of LOr. 7440 entitled the "Ślokāntara" associated with Senapati Jimbun, ff. 117-140, is complemented by that of the *Luwangan Undang-Undang Mataram,* a separate text dating from sometime before 1677. For arguments as to date and provenance of these manuscripts see Hoadley, *Selective Judicial Competency.*

[7]Hoadley, *Introuction to Javanese Law*: 68-79 and note 6 above for the date of the LOr. 7440 and 7410 manuscripts.

Table 1. *Ṣaḍātatāyī in Indonesian Texts*[8]

	Java/Bali			Java
	Ślokāntara	*Wratiśāsana*	*Adigama*	*Ślokāntara* (Jimbun)
Arson	Agnida	Anunwani	Agnida Anunwani	Agnida Anuwnoni
Weaponed attack	Śastraghna/ amuk	Ngamuk	Astrodyata	Waja Wangkara
Molest women	Dārātikrama	Mrugul	Dārātikrama	Mrugul
Betrayer of Kings	Rāja Piśuna	Piśuna	Rāja Piśuna	Raja Wisuna
Poisoner	Wiṣada	Mangupas	Angupasi Wiṣyadah	Amisadah Angupasi
Sorcerer	Atharwa	Neluh	Neluh Atrawana	Neluh

As the table is more or less self-explanatory only a few points need be taken up here. One of these is in regard to *waja wangkara* instead of the more usual *amuk* for "weaponed attack." The former term seems to fit in so far as "waja" means tooth or steel with a derivative means of point, blade, or lance which is equivalent to *(w)astra*=weapon with which one runs amok. In addition there is a tendency in the Jimbun *Ślokāntara* to combine *waja wangkara* with *mrugul* while adding a seventh rubric, spies, which seems to be an innovation of the eighteenth century. The other point concerns "molests" which half the manuscripts give modern Javanese *mrugul* meaning violence against women which is more specified in the other two as "to kill a man in order to take possession of his wife."[9]

[8]Not shown are the *Agama's* Art.s 117-180 dealing mostly with sorcery and accusations of the *ṣaḍātatāyī*. The remaining provisions are found in: *Ślokāntara* Art. 32; *Wratiśāsana*, Art. 15; *Adigama*, f.17 and *Ślokāntara* (Jimbun) ff. 117, 132. Here it should be noted that only texts originating before the 1750s are included, thus eliminating the various manuscripts belonging to the *Pepakem Tjerbon* of 1768.

[9]P.J. Zoetmulder, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982).

Table 2. The *Aṣṭacora* in Indonesian Texts[10]

	Java/Bali			Java
	Adigama	*Wratiśāsana*	*Agama*	*Ślokāntara* (Jm)
Doer	Kartā	Kartā	commit	Kartah
Collaborate	Karhitah/akon	Kārayitā	order	Tetrah/akon
Befriend	apritikah	Sthānadeśaka	befriend	Isaka
Give food	Bhaktadah	Bhoktā	give food	Bojaka
Relative	Sahacaraha	---	---	Carah
Knows of actions	Talayah	Jñātā	Know/associate	Sapratingkah
Assists/ weapons	Tritah/tulung	Trātā/tulung	help	Tatrah
Shelters	Goptah	Goptah	shelter	Goptah

In contrast to the remainder of texts, the *Agama* gives only the modern Javanese explanation, not the Sanskrit-derived terms, which are translated into English. And second the rubric of "Relative" of a *durjana* of "evil-doer" is found only in the *Adigama* and the Jimbun *Ślokāntara.*

Considering the two categories as a group in Javanese legal thought, it can be observed that the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* came early and stayed late. The Kaladi inscription of King Balitung (r. 900-928) cites the *aṣṭacora* as a negative model for persons illegally entering a freehold[11] A similar negative character reference is mentioned in the Canggu inscription of 1358, the so-called Ferry Charter. In it the good character of the ferry men is measured by freedom from the *aṣṭacora* further strengthened by likewise

[10]The *Ślokāntara* lacks provisions for the *aṣṭacora.* Otherwise the terms are found in: *Adigama* f. 17; *Wratiśāsana,* Art. 15; *Agama* Art. s 26-31; and the Jimbun *Ślokāntara* ff. 100-101.

[11]Antionette M. Barrett Jones, *Early Tenth Century Java from the Inscriptions* (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1984), Appendix 4:189.

being free of specific acts clearly falling into the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭaduṣṭa* categories.[12] The opposite end of the time scale is provided by the collection of legal (didactic) texts included in the compilation *Pepakem Tjerbon* whose Dutch text was promulgated in 1768.[13]

More relevant to current discussion is the question of their significance to Javanese society. Here the attempt to go from textual existence to societal function is hampered by lack of evidence relating directly to legal process between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only towards the latter date does, albeit scanty, empirical evidence of actual litigation become available and then from the island's western part,. This is explained more by chance occurrence of Dutch East India Company servants copying translations of Javanese legal documents into their commercial records than temporal or physical distribution of such cases. In a attempt to avoid an overly scholastic approach in discussing legal texts' contents without reference to actual litigation, the following is limited to the concepts as they appear in three legal cases. At the same time one must acknowledge the paucity of examples stemming entirely from the Cirebon-Priangan region in the early eighteenth century.

A *pradata* case, Ki Aria Marta Ningrat, 1696. Within this material the earliest unambiguous reference to the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* is a 1696 verdict against Tumenggung Ki Aria Marta Ningrat, the *peranakan* first minister of Cirebon's Sultan Anom. A summary of the case, considered in more detail elsewhere,[14] runs as follows.

> In 1695 the Dutch Resident complained of what he considered as smuggling of pepper at Cirebon. Ki Aria Marta Ningrat was suspected. Yet the Resident could neither produce evidence to motivate Company intervention nor convince Javanese that such activities were criminal. In May that year what has been identified as a *pradata* court heard the case and handed down a judgment in the name of the Cirebon princes. According to the translated verdict, Ki Aria Marta Ningrat was guilty of: 1) the "murder" Citra

[12]Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), 5 vols. under "Ferry Charter." The evils they were free from were *strīsanggrahaṇa* (molests), an alternative for *dārāikrama*, and *nanggapi duṣṭa* or shelterer of thieves.

[13]G.A.J. Hazeu, ed., "Tjeribonsch Wetboek (Pepakem Tjerbon) van het jaar 1768, " *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 1905. The date of 1768 is valid only for the Dutch text as the Javanese one is of uncertain provenance and date and was only matched with the original Dutch on occasion of the publication of 1905. The (later) Javanese text in many places differs from the Dutch one and often lacks specific provisions as in the case of the *ṣaḍātatāyī*.

[14]Hoadley, *Selective Judicial Competency*, pp. 00-00.

> Guna, a subject of Sultan Sepuh, 2) causing disunity among the princes, and 3) attempting to kill Wangsa Truna, the Resident's translator.

Here it must be emphasized that the Javanese text is lacking. Analysis of the case depends upon contemporaneous Dutch sources.

Point of departure for the essay was that the Sanskrit *ṣaḍātatāyī* and, to a lesser extent, the *aṣṭacora* were crucial to Javanese *pradata* (criminal) law. If so, then in a case considered as *pradata*—in that the court decided upon the death penalty—some correlation between the points of judgment and the *ṣaḍātatāyī*, or even the *aṣṭacora*, of the textual tradition considered above can be expected. This is found in point (2), i.e. causing disunity among princes. Dutch sources make it clear that Ki Aria Marta Ningrat had engaged in setting"... (by wile) the three princes against one another and causing disunity." The judgment further specifies nature of that disunity, revolving about marital relations cum alliances between the pricipality's rulers. The result of these activities was that Ki Aria was not only a deceitful advisor to his prince but also had tried to "...bring the three princes into discord."[15]

So defined, the act fell under *raja wisuna* "destroying the peace between princely associates." According to Art. 32 of the *Ślokāntara*,

> *Rājapiśuna* is one who sets one against the other to fight. The first among them in one who slanders against the king and minister. His words lead to the destruction of his land. All his words are out of jealousy. He acts his tricks out of an evil mind. Whatever he speaks is false. He is indeed guilty of treason.

But what of the other two points of judgment? Attempted murder, point (3) was not recognized as a crime, especially as it conflicted with the contents of Islamic law practiced in Java at this time.[16] It thus can hardly have constituted the judgment's "most serious of crimes." Moreover, despite contemporaneous Dutch expectations it is highly improbable that point (1) "murder" provided the definition of a *pradata* affair. If Ki Aria himself had carried this out by means of a "weaponed attack" he would have been guilty of *śastraghna* or *amok*. This would have automatically invoked the death penalty, rendering the other points superfluous. That they are listed after point (1) suggests that it was not sufficient in and of itself to make the case a *pradata* one. This is supported by the unreasonableness of a high-ranking minister carrying out a "weaponed attack" on an ordinary Javanese. Even in the unlikely event that Ki Aria had personally murdered Citra Guna, it could have been redeemed by the payment of the blood-price of thirty-three *real*,

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[15]VOC 1583, Krijger to Hoog Regering, 31 May 1696, f. 49 also *Ibid.*, 8 July 1696, f. 55.

[16]See pp. 00-00 below.

the *patuku-sawa* of the *Agama* (Art.s 11, 12, 26, 167) or *pengéli-sawa* of the *Luwangan Undang-Undang Mataram* (Art. 5). The likelihood of the *ṣaḍātatāyī* provision of *rāja pišuna* being evoked—not specifically cited in the 1696 judgment—is increased by the action of the *jaksa* in 1719.

Pradata aspects to a *padu* case, Puspa Nagara, 1719. The better-documented, if only apparently a *pradata*, case against the Regent of Bojong Lopong (Ciamis) some two decades later can be summarized as follows.[17]

> In 1719 a Dutch official, Christian Kruger, was killed by a certain Wisa Truna in connection with the smuggling of cotton. A concerted attempt to apprehend the doer, Wisa Truna, had failed. It had succeeded in arresting his accomplices who had helped or sheltered him, as well as his parents, for various degrees of aiding and abetting.
>
> Puspa Nagara was also arrested. Although the Dutch were convinced of his guilt of encouraging Wisa Truna to kill Kruger and assisting him afterwards, the Javanese judges who tried the case could only rule on actions that Puspa Nagara had carried out, i.e. help Wisa Truna, which were torts.
>
> Ostensibly catering to Dutch demands to punish the Regent implicated in Kruger's death, the *jaksa* called attention to the possibility of harsher punishments open to the sovereign. This could be done by considering his deeds as falling under the *ṣaḍātatāyī*. Subsequently the Dutch evoked specific provisions of *rāja pišuna* as grounds for bodily punishment of the Regent.

The unprecedented arrest and transportation to Cirebon of persons most closely associated with Kruger's murderer prompted the Dutch Resident to justify the action by citing provisions of Javanese law. Here it was insisted that in the prosecution of serious offenses Javanese princes always arrested the closest friends and blood relatives of the culprit

> in so far as the old Javanese custom with reference to the entire household and family in both older and younger generations still exists and is practised. The custom is applicable in instances of an individual's guilt or suspected guilt of a public murder or grave and serious misdeed.
>
> Thus, the punishment Wisa Truna's father and mother deserve for not apprehending or reporting their son as soon as his misdeed was known shall be left up to you [the High Government] to decide. This was the law which the Javanese kings of old have rigorously enforced.

The custom was an old, well-established principle of Javanese criminal law because

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[17]Hoadley, *Selective Judicial Competency*: 00-00.

[18]VOC 1886, 27 February 1717, f. 46.

> according to those who know, the old Javanese kings have punished these crimes most rigorously and in their realm have tried to root out all those who were suspected of having had a part in those crimes, known by the Javanese as capital offenses of which there are two terms applying in these instances, namely *raja wisuna*—destroying the peace between princely associates and *wajah wangkarita*—public or other misdeeds.[18]

As we have seen, *raja wisuna* was not only well established in the Javanese legal tradition but also seems to have provided the *pradata* provision for punishment in 1696. Derivation of *waja wangkarita* is less clear. As noted earlier, "waja" or "tooth", "steel" with the derivation of "blade, lance head, or lance," tallies with "weaponed attack" or "amok" carried out with a weapon. As the general context of Resident Gobius' citation refers to Wisa Truna's running amok and stabbing Kruger with a lance, the interpretation is plausible, even though at present no good explanation is available for "wangkarita."

The citation of the two *ṣaḍātatāyī* by Gobius was an academic exercise, although a fortunate one for our knowledge of Javanese law. Wisa Truna was never apprehended. Since the case's principle, Puspa Nagara, had not committed a *ṣaḍātatāyī* crime, the only punishment that could be assigned by the *jaksa* was a civil tort. Although Puspa Nagara was seen as a "protector of murderers" and "closely associated with a rebel [*durjana*]," he was felled on the grounds of having contact with an evil-doer. It seems likely that these were derived from translations of the *aṣṭacora*, specifically *gop (i) tah*, one who "shelters an evil-doer" and (sa) *karayita* or one who "collaborates with an evil-doer."[19] Thus "on account of the murder" the *jaksa* assigned a fine "according to the law or legal rule of the ancient *śloka* "nakira ganda ning niat" (evil smells clear?).[20] The *śloka* seems to allude to the fact that everyone knew of Puspa Nagara's association with Wisa Truna. Establishing a casual relationship between Puspa Nagara's nefarious activities and Kruger's murder was not necessary.

As far as the *jaksa* were concerned their participation in the Puspa Nagara affair was concluded. They had ruled on the appropriate provision of Javanese law to cover the offense of the accused and levied a *padu* fine of one hundred *real* for Puspa Nagara's guilt in associating with a *durjana*. In addition, they assessed the Regent double compensation for Kruger's death.

In the second half of the judgment against Puspa Nagara the *jaksa* took the unusual step of advising the ruler on alternatives for punishment, alternatives of a *pradata* nature. Responsibility for advising rulers on punishments were common at the

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[19]See Zoetmulder, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*.

[20]VOC 1898, *Salaran* of 29 April 1717, ff. 40-41.

time but only in connection with *pradata* cases.[21] According to the *jaksa* there were two alternatives: the law book *Mouta*[22] and the royal law of *aksara geni*.[23] The first alternative was not applicable. Even if it could have been proven that Puspa Nagara had ordered Kruger's death, the *Mouta* stated that intent was not punishable, especially when there had been no confession.[24] The alternative, the royal law of *aksara geni*, however, was employed by the Dutch Resident. By evoking its provisions, even without grounds, he could assign further punishments in the form of removal from office, forfeiture of goods and possessions, and even personal chastisement. Thus on 2 May, Gobius wrote that

> the judgment against Puspa Nagara was based upon the customs of the kings, and specifically the penalty named *aksara geni*, that is the scriptural or kingly condemnation to the highest corporal punishments or death with forfeiture of all goods, and loss of wives and family to the Honorable Company.[25]

Gobius had chosen to interpret the judgment in a manner congenial to him. The *jaksa* "judgment" had only been a fine. Yet as representative of the sovereign, i.e. the Dutch

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[21]Hoadley, *Selective Judicial Competency*, Chapters 7 and 8.

[22]The law book *Mouta* most likely refers to one of the variants of the Islamic law book *Muharrar* by Abu Kasim al-Rafei, a source of Shafi doctrine. The work enjoyed a certain degree of prestige in Pasisir legal circles during the period. See R.A. Kern, *Javaansch Rechtsbedeeling, een bijdrag tot de kennis der geschiedenis van Java*. (Den Haag: E.J. Brill, 1926): 95-96 and M.B. Hooker, *Islamic Law Texts in South-East Asia* (Oxford, 1986).

[23]Very little is known about the meaning of this term. The term *aksara geni* appears in early eighteenth-century Javanese texts as that of LOr. 7440 discussed above. See also British Library Add. 12303 and Royal Asiatic Society, Raffles Collection, # 38. In these two texts *aksara geni* is added to the much more commonly cited twelve *aksara*. By way of brief and cryptic phrases, the *aksara* set out the types of legal sanctions exercised by the *jaksa* (kerta) and the sovereign, allocated six and six. The unusual thirteenth, *aksara geni*, in these manuscripts is added under a new category of *denda pepatih*, or "punishments of ministers." The texts reads: "aksara geni/denda papati parentah ing ratu" found in LOr. 7440 and ADD. 12303, f. 20 verso and in R.A.S. # 38, f. 8. The provision can be read to mean either that the ministers punish according to the *aksara* or that the minister is punished by the *aksara*. The contents of the 1717 *salaran* make it reasonable to interpret the text as meaning the provisions under which a minister is punished.

[24]In explaining to Resident Gobius why Puspa Nagara could not be punished more harshly through the provisions of the *Mouta*, the *jaksa* pointed out that according to Islamic law only the doer himself is liable to punishment. One who bribed another to do the actual deed could only be punished by a fine. VOC 1898, 2 May 1717, f. 32. In that May report a further objection to the assignment of a capital punishment for Puspa Nagara was cited by the Resident, almost undoubtedly on the authority of the *jaksa*:

... according to the spiritual Mohammedan law, he [the accused] cannot be sentenced to corporal or capital punishments because he had denied being guilty of the manslaughter charge...

Gobius's statement that confession as a pre-requisite for corporal and capital punishments originating from Islamic law is slightly misleading. As attested to by the 1720 Tan Siangko case discussed in Hoadley, *Selective Judicial Competence*, Chapter 7, the provision was a well-established feature of *pradata* law.

East India Company, Gobius assigned a further penalty under the auspices of *aksara geni*.The justice of assigning a *pradata/* criminal punishment to one felled on a *padu*/civil action is, of course, questionable. Yet the fact that such provisions were available as *pradata* punishments for those guilty, or thought to be guilty, of the *ṣaḍātatāyī* (but not the *aṣṭacora*) establishes the importance of the Sanskrit concepts to actual legal cases.

The *padu* dimension, Kyahi Karta Nagara, 1714. Although the *ṣaḍātatāyī* as "criminal" activities could not form the basis of *padu* or "civil" cases, this did not prevent the *aṣṭacora* from playing an important by-role in such affairs. Opportunity for observing the practical consequences of *aṣṭacora* in *padu* competency comes from Javanese *jayapattra,* or "certificate of victory" awarded the victor, Karta Nagara at the case's conclusion.[26] The conditions under which the *kukudung* of 1714—a unique example of a purely Javanese document of this type[27]—was obtained, by whom, or even when it came into European possession are not known.

The *kukudung* relates the course of a case between Kyai Karta Nagara, son of the Parakan Muncang Regent, and Karta Dinata of Bandung and several accomplices. According to its contents, Karta Dinata and three helpers, one of which was never apprehended, had stolen "a variety of objects, along with two ancestral *kris,* named Megah and Petyatoek, the property of Kyai Karta Nagara." The stolen goods were found with Karta Dinata of Bandung and Praja Dita of Ci-amis. Constituting unambiguous proof for the court, the find implicated two others.

The four were judged guilty of theft and fined according to the legal principle of "raja denda", amounting to some eight *laksa* each, for which an appropriate *śloka* or apophthegm of law was cited.[28] Sentences were also handed down to almost a dozen individuals who were in some manner associated with the theft. They were fined various

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[26]Koninklijk Institut Voor Taal–Land–en Volkenkunde Oriental Manuscript (henceforth KITLV Or.) # 268, nr. 6.

[27]Mason C. Hoadley in "Continuity and Change in the Javanese Legal Tradition; The Evidence of the Jayapattra,' *Indonesia* 11 (April 1971):105 prematurely stated that the only extant document of this type dated from 1734-39.

[28]The *ślokas* cited by legal documents of the period have defied more than a partial translation. *Ślokas* are invariably cited by way of explanation in extant Javanese legal judgments. They also are found as phrases concluding individual paragraphs in the majority of Javanese legal texts, including the *Undang² Luwangan.* Certain texts, as *Senapati Jimbun* found in the same manuscript (LOr 7440, ff. 131-140), *Ślokāntara,* and others contain sections devoted to clarification of these *ślokas.*

amounts, their sentences similarly followed by an appropriate *śloka*. The *kukudung* closes by giving the date.

> This case agrees in the first instance with the wishes of the honorable Resident governing at Cirebon and secondly with those of his majesty Pangeran Aria Cirebon. The time of writing this certificate of victory is on Thursday in the month of Rabingul-Akir dated the 23rd of the year Jé.

During Pangeran Aria Cirebon's tenure as Overseer of the Priangan the Javanese year Jé fell on 1707, 1714, and 1721, context favoring 1714.

For present purposes a more important issue is that with which we started, namely the use of the *aṣṭacora* in *padu*/civil competency. Noteworthy in this respect is the relatively large number of sentences for individuals who could be considered as accomplices only in the broadest sense. More specifically, five men from Bandung, all named,

> had intimate knowledge of the evil doers' activities. A person from Limbangan, named Suba Praja, is said to have given lodging, received, and sheltered the evil ones (*durjana*). Karta Wadana, together with the people from Ci-amis, are said to have received and sheltered the [other] evil doers.[29]

It seems clear that they fit under the categories of "know/associate with *durjana,*"=*talayah* (*jñātā*, or *sapratikah*), as well as "hide/shelter a *durjana*" and "be friend" or *gopitah* and *apritikah, sthānadeśa,* or *Isaka*. The former, those who knew of the *durjanas'* action [but did not report them] resulted in a fine, their guilt falling under the rule of *mneng menang* or "knowing but remaining silent (i.e. not reporting what they knew)" found in the legal texts.[30] In other words the *aṣṭacora* played in eighteenth cenutry *padu* litigation an important role, although it was not as dominant as that of the *ṣaḍātatāyī* in *pradata* affairs.

SANSKRITIC CONTINUITY. The striking longevity of the Sanskrit-derived *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora,* which were activity employed by Javanese courts into the late eighteenth century, raises the question as to how they fared under nineteenth and twentieth century colonial rule. A simple answer is "not very well." They are conspicuously absent from both the laws of the Netherlands Indies for "Europeans" and the *adat* law circles for the "natives." To a great extent their disappearance must be accounted for by *ṣaḍātatāyī*

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[29]KITLV Or., # 268, no 6.

[30]The provision of *mneng menang* is often found in texts as the *Agama* and the *Undang²Luwangan* genre of legal manuscripts.

association with the sovereign who was, in fact, responsible for protecting the realm from the deleterious effects of such actions. When in the course of the eighteenth century the Dutch replaced Javanese rulers they introduced their own definitions of sovereign duties and of law's function as well. Such is illustrated by the Javanese distinction between *pradata* and *padu* being shouldered aside by Dutch East India Company ideas of criminal and civil courts.[31]

Yet the actual course of events was complicated by the presence of Islam. According to the contents of the Dutch texts of the *Pepakem Tjerbon* of 1768, but not the Jimbun *Ślokāntara* a century earlier, the *ṣaḍātatāyī* had come to be administered as *kisas* punishments by the Islamic *pengulu* court at Cirebon. The exact nature of this court, its actual as opposed to ascribed legal prerogatives, and the type of law dispensed are as yet unclear. Evidence exists showing that a desire for it to functionally take over certain prerogatives from the princes was matched by an equal determination by Company officialdom to prevent this from taking place. Only with the weakening of East India Company authority during the last decades of the eighteenth century do references to the *pengulu* court become more than wishful thinking. This appears to have been short lived. Whatever Islamic influences in Netherlands Indies during the nineteenth century were to be expressed under the control of the Dutch courts for the "natives."

With regard to the composition of the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* in the late eighteenth-century *Pepakem Tjerbon,* individual items are within reason recognizable from Tables 1 and 2 above. The single exception in the *ṣaḍātatāyī,* anticipated by the Jimbun *Ślokāntara,* was the tendency to combine "weaponed attack" with "molest" to make room for a seventh *ātatāyī*, namely the receiving of spies (*anompani telik*). Whether this was a reaction to the competition between Javanese states during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries or between them and the Dutch is at present unclear. The deviation from Table 2 for the *aṣṭacora* is more in quantity than quality. To the original eight are added a dozen minor variations, all carrying less stringent punishments. Even more revealing, these punishments are neither those of traditional Java witnessed earlier nor the *kisas* of the Arabic legal traditions but flogging, branding, and terms on the chain-gang at the behest of the Honorable Company.

CONCLUSION. Above discussion has documented the existence of several important processes at work between the Indic and Indonesian, if not Southeast Asian, worlds. The first of these is what can be seen as the development of the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* from

[31]See Hoadley, *Selective Judicial Competency.*

moral prescriptions to legal rules. The character references of the epigraphical material of the Kaladi and Canggu inscriptions at some point had become transformed into rules of substantive law, the breach of which could result in reprisals by the state either bodily, as with the *ṣaḍātatāyī,* or economically, as with the *aṣṭacora.* This was in addition to purely private compensation owed by directly involved individuals in a *padu* process. Traces of such a development are found not only in the "hard" data of the inscriptions and legal cases but also in the "soft" data of the texts.

The second noticeable characteristic is the persistence of the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* in Javanese law. This persistence is all the more striking in that it crosses, seemingly unaffectedly, the boundaries between classical Hindu-Javanese period through the "Islamic" one down to that of the early colonial era represented by the government of the Dutch East India Company. Telling in this respect is that the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* deriving from Sanskritic models were incorporated with little change into legal texts attributed to Senapati Jimbun. This is all the more remarkable in that by tradition Jimbun epitomizes the transition from Hindu-Javanese Majapahit to Islamic Demak, which in turn pave the way for the early modern, Islamic kingdoms of Pajang and ultimately Mataram. Moreover the ousting of the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* from Javanese legal usage seems to have resulted from the Dutch-induced break down of Javanese sovereignty in which Islamic-Javanese courts emerged in the late eighteenth century, ones still employing an, albeit watered-down, version of the original Sanskritic concepts. This is turn argues that the boundaries of "classical" Javanese culture need re-examination. To put it the other way around, Asian concepts deriving from both Sanskrit and Arabic traditions appear to have been more compatible with one another that either with European.

A final point is the extent to which the situation in Java agrees with or differs from other areas of Southeast Asia influenced by the Indian subcontinent. The evidence is contradictory. On the one hand, the prestige and reputation of Sanskrit-derived law books was as high, if not higher, in say Burma, Ayudhya Thailand, or Angkorian Cambodia.[32] This most likely is explained by the lack of institutional conflict between the state religion of Buddhism and the Sanskrit learning from whence many of its fundamental principles sprang. On the other hand, the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* as concepts setting the pattern in at least "criminal" justice never seem to have caught on in the continental legal

[32]Hooker, ed., *The Laws of Southeast Asia,* "The Burmese Dhammathat," pp. 23-142, "The Thai Thammsast", pp. 143-204; and "Remarks on the Epigraphy of Angkorian Cambodia," pp. 205-240.

administrations, much less persisting for almost a millennium. Does this mean that they were less "Indianized" than Java or the reverse? Or are we dealing with different phases or processes of "Indianization" in which the island world deviates from continental Southeast Asia? In the case of the *ṣaḍātatāyī* and *aṣṭacora* a starting point is to be found in careful philological editions as that of Sharada Rani's work on the *Ślokāntara* and *Wratiśāsana*.

JAVANESE VISUAL PERFORMANCE AND THE INDIAN MYSTIQUE

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When Rabindranath Tagore visited the Dutch East Indies in the 1920s, he was struck by the beauty of the theatrical genres he saw in the princely houses of Central Java and was impelled to make enthusiastic statements about performance of Java compared to that of his own country:

"When Nataraj Shiva, the King of Dances, came here and was gratified with the worship of the people, the boon he gave to them was his dance itself. Can it be, I wonder, that all that was left for us of India were the ashes of the cremation ground with which Shiva decks himself as Lord of Ascetics?" (Tagore 1928:280)

Like Tagore, scholars of Indonesian society and culture have given much thought to the relationship between the performance genres of the two regions, though they have tended to seek out similarities rather than differences in the historical and aesthetic relations between the subcontinent of India and the islands of Indonesia, which became a republic with the declaration of independence of 1945. The relationship had been tantalising scholars for many years before Tagore contributed his personal remarks to the debate, and the speculation continues unabated, yielding ever more baroque theories as detailed knowledge of inscriptions, language, and architecture proliferates. The expanding scholarship in the field of the performing arts by both Indonesian and overseas researchers provides further perspectives to those deriving from traces in word and stone. In spite of the more structural theories and methodologies which have come to replace the old diffusionist approaches, one cannot but note the persistence of the fascination with the Indian countribution to Indonesian culture and society, and the compelling power of this relationship in determining scholarly projects and their methodologies.

A systematic and comprehensive exploration of this field remains to be written, and this article can only raise certain questions which bear on the subject: a brief summary of scholarly theories about Indian-Javanese connections in the fields of the visual performing arts (dance and drama); a discussion of certain negative factors which tend to be overlooked in the urge to make connections, and the implication of these connections for current ideas about Indonesian culture.

CONNECTIONS. The Indic influence in Indonesia is generally held to have come in through the courts of indigenous chiefs and rulers, unlike the arrival of Islam which occurred by means of traders and commercial guilds. From the fourth to eleventh centuries, trade developed between the sub-continent and the Sriwijaya empire.[1] The influence of Indian culture persisted in the East Javanese empires of Singasari and Majapahit (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) (Coedes 1944; Gonda 1952).

The Indic hypothesis rests on assumptions about cultural continuity, a notion which itself is a form of legitimisation of the courtly power centres. This notion has been consolidated by ideas about the model of state (Heine-Geldern 1942) and its attendant power structures and image of the ruler as *Dewa Raja,* the God-King. The origin of this model is located somewhere in Indian ideology and has provided a concept of power, tradition, and cultural reality which has caught the scholarly imagination across Southeast Asia. The Indian empire on the ground might be no more, but it lives on in the minds of scholars, travellers, and increasingly, tourists.

Two kinds of text endorse the historical and ideological connections made between performance traditions of the subcontinent and those of the archipelago. These are representations of dancers and musicians carved on temples such as Prambanan, Borobudur (Fig.1) and many others in Central and East Java, and allusions to numerous performers and administrators of performance in written sources, either inscribed charters, the earliest of which dates from AD 840, chronicles such as the reknowned Nagarakertagama of the 14th century, and literary works relating stories from the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa or Panji cycles, all of which continue to provide major sources for dramatic representations in Java and also Bali.

Epigraphic data compiled by Claire Holt (1967) suggests that as early as AD 840 in Java there were officials responsible for amusements or amusement halls, prostitutes, clowns, and masks or puppets. These officials are mentioned in connection with people coming from Champa, Kalinga, Aryya, Ceylon, Cola, Malabar and Karnataka. Performers mentioned are *aringgit* (actors—today *ringgit* refers to puppets and to performers the Yogyakarta *wayang wong* dance drama), *winingle* (musicians), and *pawidu* (storytellers or bards) (ibid:281).

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[1]See further Coedes 1944. A summary of theories about where various Indian influences came from may be found in Sears 1984, pp.10-11. The evidence indicates that "almost every region of India played its part in bringing Indian culture to the archipelago." Each scholar tends to have his or her own preference, and as far as the mystical aesthetic traditions of Java are concerned, Sears considers Kashmir to be a likely region of origin (op.cit.:21). The most important study of Old Javanese aesthetics and literature is by Zoetmulder (1974).

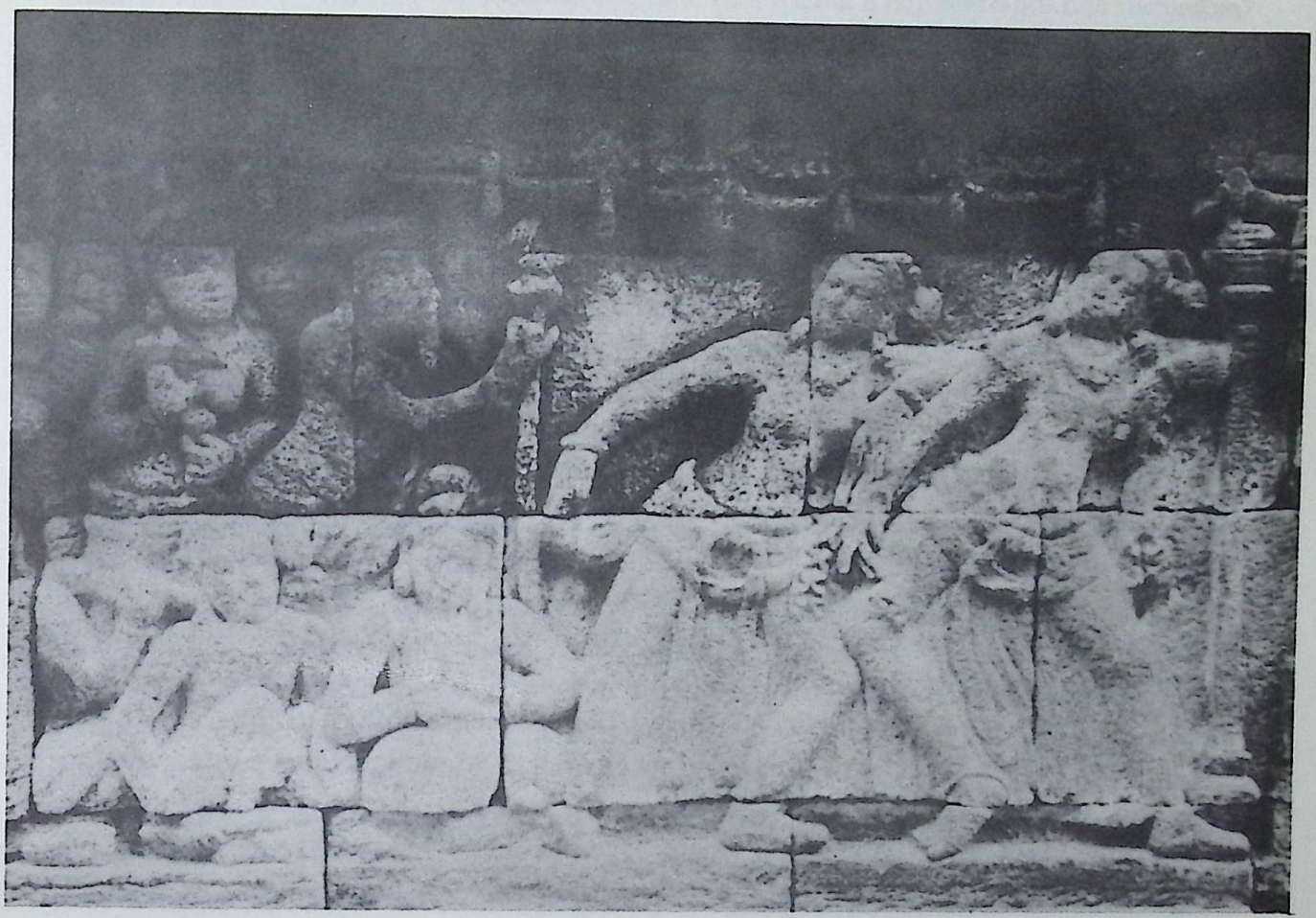

Fig.1. Relief from Borobudur temple, Central Java, showing dancers

A charter dated AD 860 establishing a Buddhist freehold and temple refers to *juru barata*, which the scholar Kern interpreted as actors or managers of plays. Charters at this time also refer to dances held in connection with foundation ceremonies, and in AD 901, King Balitung granted the freehold of a hermitage at Taji which was celebrated with a cockfight held by *tanda rakryans* (meaning not given) and then circle dances in which the local *ramas* danced, followed by the women (Stutterheim and Damais, cited in Holt op.cit.282). During King Balitung's reign offering dances were also mentioned in a charter dated AD 907 granting freehold to the village of Sangsang which was to support a local cloister. Spectacles (*ton-tonana*, the word still used in Indonesian today) were

given; people sang (*mamidu*), recited (*macarita*), danced (*mangigal*), play-acted (*mamirus*) and the *Bimmaya Kumara* play was performed (*mawayang*) for the gods. After this, there was gambling and some kind of entertainment by two figures, probably masked (ibid: 282).

The Indonesian historian and dance expert Professor Soedarsono has argued that the word *mawayang* in this charter marks the first reference to *wayang*, the shadow play; it is not until the Wimalasrama inscription of AD 930 that reference is made to human performers of dance drama, the *wayang wwang*. At this time there were other terms used for dance: *hatapukan*, from *tapuk*, meaning mask, in the AD 904 Mantyasih inscription; and *igel*, a common term for dance, occurs in a number of inscriptions of the period, starting with that of Saludmangli (AD 898). Soedarsono speculates that the stories of the Mahābhārata were performed unmasked. This hypothesis would give the Yogya tradition of *wayang wong*, itself unmasked, a long history and thus greater prestige. Stories from the Rāmāyaṇa by contrast he suggests were performed with masks but in Bali, *wayang wong* is a masked genre which enacts stories from the Mahābhārata (Soedarsono 1984: 2-5, 11).

It is not until an inscription dating from AD 1358 in the reign of Queen Tribhuwana, mother of Hayam Wuruk (below) that we encounter a classical Sanskrit term for dance, *nṛtya*. This is in allusion to the personal skill of the queen. In the *Nāṭyaśāṣtra* treatise by Bharata, this word means dramatic mimetic dance in contrast to *nṛtta*, the "pure" dance (Ghosh 1952). It is however unclear what the nature of this *nṛtya* as performed by Queen Tribhuwana would have been, and we should note that in Java today, special vocabularies are still used to respect people of high standing. It is likely that Sanskrit words would be used to describe the actions and attributes of high status people back in the fourteenth century. The extent to which the language was as codified in its special strata to indicate respect and self-abasement does remain unclear, and it seems that formalisation of language codes took place much later; however, the incorporation of prestige foreign words from the Sanskrit to be applied to nobility and kings would explain the use of *nṛtya* in this context, without necessarily indicating that the prescriptions of Bharata were being implemented in the Javanese courts.

Although there are no extant Indic dance manuscripts in Java and Bali, this does not prove that there was no direct transmission of the classical prescriptions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or other treatises on theatrical representations to Java at this time. A number of studies indicate that the representations of dance positions on the carved reliefs of Lara Jonggrang temple at Prambanan, Central Java, depicting scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa

conform to prescriptions in the Nāṭyaśāstra, particularly with regard to the hand gestures (*mudrā*) and the position of the body and head (Sedyawati Hadimulyo 1982), and Soedarsono suggests that the dance style shown on these temples was performed in unmasked plays, *wayang wwang*,which related stories from the Mahābhārata (Soedarsono 1984:4).

The existence of such visual representations however do not prove that classical Indian dance was practised in the Hinduised courts and provides the foundation of contemporary classical Indonesian dance.[2] Certain features, such as the pairing of performers, and the musical instruments accompanying them, have been interpreted as being realistic portrayals of tenth century occurrences. Although these carvings might indicate knowledge of the classical ideals by the carvers or their overseer, we should not assume that such postures are represented according to an aesthetic of naturalism in order to show the kind of activity which the carvers might have seen with their own eyes. We should be cautious in assuming that the raised legs and elaborate *mudrās* in these temple carvings are signs of art imitating life. Carvers working at Prambanan today can be observed in the process of creating similar images, images which relate to other ancient images around them. This suggests that while the carvers of the original images may have come from India or other Southeast Asian kingdoms, they could equally well have been reproducing and also developing samples of foreign traditions. If modern carving in Balinese temples today shows skill and humour in the introduction of modern images, such as cars, it is more striking for the evidence of carvers reproducing established forms.

Our lack of knowledge about who the carvers were and the prevailing ideas about artistic reproduction and creativity at that time must give us reason to pause and consider. Also, western theories of art from the time of the ancient Greeks have emphasised the imitative theory of representation, wherein art imitates nature. Recent thinking suggests that artistic traditions need to be understood in terms of their own reflexive conventions as much as the imitation of "reality" which the ancient Greeks considered to be the basis of artistic expression (Gombrich 1978:3). It is not appropriate to impose western traditions of analysis on non-western aesthetic traditions in any case, and if those western traditions themselves are being reinterpreted, there is even more reason to think very hard about the kind of statements which can be made about the import of Indian traditions into Indonesian islands. Arguments about images from the temple reliefs in Java have the status of legitimising devices used for the justification of contemporary actions and

[2]Literary scholars are more chary of making assumptions than those working on visual representations; see for example Robson's comment regarding the *Nāṭyaśāstra* that "it has yet to be proved that it is of direct relevance to Javanese literature" (1971:29).

practices, rather than as serving to prove historical facts, and this dimension in scholarship needs to be recognised. The reconstruction of classical performance in India itself has already given enough reason to be careful about framing statements about historicity. These factors are often overlooked in studies about the interrelations of carved and performed dramatic representations which neglect to take into consideration the radical discontinuities in Indian classical traditions and the diversity of non-classical tradition with its lack of derivation or allusion to the principles of written classical treatises (Vatsyayan 1980). The historical bases for classical standards in Indian performance today is as problematic as in Indonesia, in spite of the rich written tradition.

DIVERGENCES. By the time of the first major written Javanese source of courtly life and performance, the carved representations on the Central Javanese temples were already a thing of the past. The ruling house had moved to East Java, and the style of temple carvings, the so-called *wayang* (puppet) style, had replaced the sensual curvatiousness of the previous representations. The images on the Jago and Tumpang temples of East Java today show forms which continue today in the puppet theatre of Bali. In Java the puppets have become elongated, and seem like attenuated abstractions of the human form compared to the more compact and realistic human images of the Balinese shadow play.

The *Nagarakertagama*, a most important text was written by Prapanca in the East Javanese kingdom of Majapahit during the reign of king Hayam Wuruk (AD 1350-89), son of the performer of *nṛtya,* Queen Tribhuwana.[3] Allusion to performances mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama* and the part taken by the king himself have become compulsory in any study of visual performance in Java, and forms part of an overall trend to glorify the Indonesian state by comparing it to that other great empire, Majapahit.

A feast given for the New Year *Caitra* festival is described in cantos 90 and 91 and a number of performance genres are mentioned. As lavish dishes and alcoholic beverages are consumed, *gitadas* (singers) sing panegyrics to the king. Then follows an entertainment by *jurw iy angin* and *Buyut*, with dancing and comical singing concluding with the partaking of drinks with the guests and the singing of *kidungs,* in which the Prince also participates. After this comes the performance of a *raket*, in which it seems that both the king's father and the king himself performs in turn a role called Shori, accompanied by

[3]This text has been generally available in Professor Pigeaud's extensively annotated five-volume translation (1960-1963). Pigeaud's interest in establishing structural continuity in ritual and classifications gives some of his argument a more purposive and coherence quality than the materials might otherwise suggest.

eight *Tekeses*. Finally, reference is made to a *Nawanāṭya*; the ambiguous translation can be interpreted to mean that it sums up the preceding events or is itself the concluding performance. As the sun sets, the squires (*hanyan*) wipe the king's feet and take their leave, and the festivities come to a close (Pigeaud 1960-63: 14.107-9).

Pigeaud has argued that the *jurw iy angin* and *Buyut* performance is the precursor of professional dancing girls (*taledhek*) who perform in turns with male guests at parties (Fig.2), and that *jurw iy angin* she originally personified a goddess of fertility (op.cit.318-20).[4] The reference to a performance called *raket* is more complex. Pigeaud suggests that

Fig.2. Two-*taledhek* perform the *gambyong* dance at a village thanksgiving in Gũnungkidul, Java, 1989

Shori, Gitada and Tekes were fixed roles. Shori and Gitada he claims are male, and Tekes female but represented by eight male dancers, and numbering ten altogether. Pigeaud strengthens this suggestion with reference to the custom of males depicting females in drama, which survived until the 1940s in the representations of dance drama (*wayang*

[4]These dancing girls are associated with sexual licence and have become virtually extinct in the Yogya region. The past relationship of these dancers to the *bedhaya* dancers of the courts remains confused due to ideological interests in preserving a "high and noble" image of indigenous culture (Hughes-Freeland 1990).

wong) and in certain Bedhaya dances (see below) in the Sultan's palace in Yogyakarta. He also relates the number of dancers to the sacral *Bedhaya Ketawang* in the palace of Surakarta, in which nine females dance in front of the Susuhunan, seated on his throne (op.cit.326).

With regard to some of the detail, there are also problems. Holt has questioned the association of *raket* and *Bedhaya*, which Pigeaud's discussion of *Nawanāṭya* in terms of the Old Javanese manual of courtly conduct, or "the nine physiognomies" allows to stand (Pigeaud op.cit.326-8). She suggests that Kern's reading of it as "nine dances", a reading rejected by Pigeaud, makes more sense, and that it may be used to describe the *raket*, rather than something else. Holt also remarks on the fact that the word *tekes* means 'mask' in other texts, which is not taken into account by Pigeaud (Holt 1967:286).

The drive of Pigeaud's argument about this *Caitra* festival and its performances is to support his views about "the frame of ancient Javanese ideas on social and cosmic order" and its place in it (op.cit.p.329). Pigeaud does not attempt to derive Javanese cultural forms from the Indian material. Instead he looks at the evidence for inferring a Javanese structure in classification and ritual. Despite a number of different interpretations available, the principle is interesting, although at times one might think that Pigeaud reads too much back from contemporary practice.

Some of Pigeaud's ideas have contributed to validating histories of court dance, most notably in the work of Soedarsono. His history of the *wayang wong* in Yogya (Fig.3) hypothesises the *raket* referred to in the *Nagarakertagama* became the unmasked *gambuh* drama of Bali, and the masked drama in West Java, both of which are plays telling stories from the Panji romances. The genre disappeared from Central Java until it was revived—"created", according to tradition—by the first Sultan of Yogyakarta as *wayang wong* (Soedarsono op.cit.: 13-15). A rival version is that the genre was created in the Mangkunagaran house in Surakarta. The masked drama meanwhile disappeared from all Central Javanese courts except from that of the Susuhunan of Surakarta.

At this point, there comes a divergence in the historiography: Javanese culture and society like anywhere had already been subject to transformations from within and without, but events gave rise to a new ideological and geographical division, which put in simple terms, resulted in the separation of Bali and the development of its own form of Hindu-Buddhism while Java began to assimilate the incoming Islamic ideas. The Majapahit dynasty was ended by the military campaigns of Raden Patah who moved the centre of power to Demak, on the north coast of Central Java. Many of the Majapahit courtiers fled eastwards to Bali, and a few remained in the highlands around Mount

Fig.3. Wayang wong dance drama in the Sultan's court, Yogyakarta. The central figure represents Batara Guru (Shiva).

Bromo, known as the Tengger. The distinctive system of Hindu ritual and belief is now itself undergoing transformations as a result of modernity and Islamic ideology in the region (Hefner 1985). Local traditions which claim that Brawijaya, last king of Majapahit, fled to Mount Lawu and Gunung Kidul in Central Java.

There is a prevalent notion that in Bali can be seen the living traditions of early sixteenth century Java. In fact, Java-Bali connections precede the coming of Islam, and have been dated back to the Javanese conquest of Bali in 1343 (Robson 1971:9); furthermore, indigenous Balinese customs, like those of their Javanese neighbours, were not

eliminated by incoming cultural elements. It is easy to make superficial three-way comparisons between Java, Bali and India, comparisons which forget that these three named regions disguise the diversity of performance found in each region. Distinctive Balinese performance elements, such as the darting eye-movements are perceived as being "like" Indian dramatic traditions, something "lost" in the Central Javanese courtly traditions with their requirements that the female and gentle male roles keep their gaze lowered and impassive (Fig. 4, 5)). Seeing is also in the eye, of course, and visitors to Java and Bali with knowledge of Peking Opera, for instance, will not be struck by the Indian quality of the performance; they will be asking hard questions about the Chinese influence—an influence which remains to be investigated.[5]

While the appearance of Balinese performance may differ from that of courtly Javanese drama, it cannot provide valid arguments for the survival theory of culture which tends to arise. It is also difficult to ascertain the history of the genres of performance which are found in Bali today. We have already encountered the theory that the Old Javanese *raket* plays form the basis for the Balinese *gambuh,* but there is evidence to suggest that this theory is not adequate. For instance, there is an allusion to a *raket* performance in a late sixteenth century text, the *Wangbangwideya* story of Panji, as a "new kind of *gambuh*" (Robson 1971:33), indicating that *gambuh* might have preceded *raket.* Another source mentions a reference to *gambuh* as early as AD 1007 is a history recorded in a palm-leaf text, *Lontar Candra Sengkala* (Ariyanto 1985), and it has been suggested that *gambuh* means 'combination', or a combination of Balinese and Javanese dance steps (Moerdowo cited in Ariyanto op.cit.: 222).[6]

A later text, the *Kidung Sunda,* originating from the Balinese kingdom of Gelgel in AD 1550 (Pigeaud 1967:124), alludes to a number of performance genres, including the *babarisan,* causing Holt to remark that "The *babarisan* has living counterparts in the Balinese martial arts". She also notes that the terminology of performance genres in *Kidung Sunda* indicates that "we have entered into what we know as today's "traditional sphere"—for not only names become more familiar: one even suspects that in the sixteenth century certain of the theatrical forms may have begun to acquire traits that have gradually crystallised into their present styles" (Holt 1967:289).

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[5]One interesting unpublished source is Joo-ee Khoo's PhD. thesis 1976 S.O.A.S., London University, entitled "Chinese elements in Javanese culture during the Majapahit period". She suggests that the exclusivity of royal culture would have limited its spread among normal people, where Chinese rather than Indian culture would have been more evident.

[6]See further de Zoete (1938) and I Made Bandem and Fredrik de Boer (1978).

Fig.4. Balinese legong dancer, Tabanan. After Goris & Dronkers, n.d., pl.443

Fig.5. *Kicat nyangkol*: a movement from women's dance in Yogyakarta showing characteristic grace enhanced by the use of the scarf pulled round the elbow while small steps to the side (*kicat*) are executed. The eyes are lowered looking at the left hand.

Despite tantalising textual hints such as these, it is clear that a reliable version of the history of Javano-Balinese relations and the effect on the cultural forms of both regions remains to be written. The notion of "crystallisation" is also one which needs treating with caution. In the Balinese case, the study by I Made Bandem and Fredrik de Boer (1981) reminds us of the recent emergence of what is regarded as 'traditional", and also of the pressures exerted on performers to packages their artistry for the overseas tourist market.

In Java similar pressures exist, but as yet less intensively than in Bali. Likewise ideas of tradition, and the concomitant view of continuity and discontinuity are also subject to interpretative processes which are contingent on contemporary political concerns. The legitimisation of contemporary culture with reference to a glorious past is one important feature have already alluded to. At this point, I would like to go into some details about the background to contemporary court traditions in Java, and make some further points about the difference between Javanese and Indian performance, despite the connections known to have existed in the past.

DISCONTINUTIES. There is a Javanese word, *naluri,* which refers to practices which are valued because they have been handed down. *Naluri* are very localised, and in Central Java today there are two major divisions in courtly dance style, with two subdivisions, provided by the so-called junior courts. One of these traditions is a set of performance practices handed down in the name of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, Java. This royal line was established after a revolt lead by the uncle of the ruling house based in the city of Surakarta, and from 1755, there were not one but two kingdoms in Central Java, with their palaces in Surakarta and Yogyakarta respectively.

The division of the kingdom and the process of its incorporation into Javanese world views has been excellently documented in Professor Ricklefs' study (1974). However, scholars have yet to discover the details of the what agreements were reached about the division of existing genres of visual performance which had been the prerogative of the house of Surakarta until the signing of the Treaty of Giyanti in 1755 which confirmed the division of territories. Many of these genres would be regarded as hierlooms, sources of power vital to the legitimacy of a kingdom.

According to oral tradition, the treaty of Giyanti was followed by a second one which was drawn up and signed at Jatisari. This treaty dealt not with lands but with the things of value handed down from king to king: these hierlooms took many forms: weaponry, musical instruments, items of clothing, ritual prescriptions, and performance

principles. Senior princes in the Yogya palace claim that there is an extant manuscript citing the precise nature of the divisions, but as yet this has not been verified. What is clear is that specific performance genres were continued in both court centres, but today there are differences in the way in which these are performed. For instance, details of gesture and position in women's dance are distinctly marked in Yogya and Surakarta, with the Yogya style being more rigorous and restricted, the freedom of the arms and hands being more limited than in Surakarta (Fig.6). There is also variation in ritual practice; for instance, it is customary for a performance of the "sacred" women's dance

Fig.6. Bedhaya dance in the Sultan's court, Yogyakarta

Bedhaya Ketawang to be given at the annual commemoration of the Susuhunan's accession (Hadiwidjojo 1972), an occasion when the entire court gathers to witness the formalisation of promotions and new appointments are made within the court hierarchy.

In Yogya, there is no distinct "sacred" dance of this nature, although local tradition maintains that until 1914 or so, a Yogya equivalent of the Ketawang, *Bedhaya Semang*, used to be performed at coronation anniversaries with male dancers in female dress (van Moens 1933-7: Vol. 29). However, the force of continuity gave way to fear and forgetfulness, and the dance has been lost. Even in the court centres, discontinuity is as much a feature of cultural process as the continuity which is invoked as a justification for valuing these centres.

It has been argued that after the founding of a second kingdom the first Sultan of Yogyakarta established a revivalist ethos and attempts were made to recreate the lost heroism of bygone days, to retrieve the glory of the old Mataram kingdom in Central Java. The eighteenth century revival of the old heroism is claimed to have been motivated by a desire to define a contrast with the weakening of the existing kingdom centered on the court in Surakarta which was dependent on the military support of the Dutch trading company, although such claims are more likely to be the results of reading modern attitudes about the colonial period back to the events in question. The first sultan of Yogya is claimed by oral tradition to have wished to purge the kingdom of the dependency on the Dutch, and many of the Yogya performance styles are militaristic and muscular, signs of martial activity within the palace when open training had been forbidden by the colonial big men. Even the women's genres include duels, although these are sometimes more abstract than dramatic. The male styles of the Yogya court continue to be the strongest and most dynamic kinds of performance for men in the central Javanese palace network, which now comprises four palaces, the main palaces in Yogya and Surakarta, and the two "junior" courts, the Mangkunagaran and the Pakualaman.

As has already been discussed, continuity is not a strong feature in Javanese history. In addition to the discontinuties of leadership, there has been the impact of Islam on existing cultural tendencies in Java. Despite this influence, there persists the view that the effects of Sanskritisation continue, and can be used to explain cultural forms.

GESTURE AND MEANING. I have already argued that there are too many impeding factors to allow such comparative and diffusionist assumption to be of use. However, it cannot be denied that both scholars and lay people persistently perceive and refer to resemblances between Indian cultural practices and those of Java. This in itself is a phenomenon to be explained, and indeed, the concept of the past and the versions of history which obtain in both India and Indonesian today, and the place of cultural reconstruction in these two states are more properly the concern than the mere content of

these "traditions". The reconstruction of Indian classicism in dance, for instance, which occurred in the 1920s is often overlooked when people start to make their comparisons, and it is absurd to say that the "Sanskritisation" of Java in the 10th century is sufficient authorisation to compare modern representations of the past in both India and Indonesia in order to reveal the signs of shared continuties in these two regions. To conclude this discussion of the power of the Indian mystique in Javanese culture, I will turn to the question of the interpretation of gesture.

A recent experience reminded me of the fallibility of human response and the dangers of first impressions. It also reminded me of how anxiously people attempt to make comparisons: an unfamiliar experience or sight will be assimilated by comparison to something at home, or, as more people learn a little of other cultures, to something from another culture. When I lead a group of London actors in a workshop to give them a feeling for Javanese and Balinese fighting techniques, the actors, who had already done similar workshops in Kathakali techniques, decided that the Indonesian movements were "like" those of Kathakali.

A second feature which people notice and emphasise is unfamiliar detail. In many performance traditions, the suppleness of the wrist is highly developed in the aesthetic of beauty. Westerners perceive this wrist action as hand movements, and knowing a little about *mudrās* and significant hand positions, tend to read any use of wrist and fingers as a signifying message. Even small children in workshops have been heard to ask "what do the hand movements mean?"

The expectation of meaning is interesting in itself. Its association with an Indian tradition in the popular imagination, and the development of this in scholarly circles into an idea of Indian definition across Southeast Asia which has resulted in a number of closely related alphabets of gestures are both notions which resists evidence to the contrary: we want our world to be coherent and meaningful, it would seem, and one version of this is the explained with reference to the expanse of Indian power—or the courage and effectiveness of particular Indian kings and their priests at a particular period in time.

British colonialism in the sub-continent resulted in much scholarship on the region, and in many ways our knowledge and the way in which we make our connections comes from the scholarly heritage made possible by the political oppressions of colonialism. What is curious is that the scholars and thinkers of former colonies have not yet detached themselves from this kind of pattern: the pre-established lines of connection which represent power points and trade links continues to compel the direction of study and

research, although these connections should long have been dismantled, and new connections set up. The Indonesian interest in Indian roots is political and its ideological flavour contributes to a balancing process to counter what is perceived as the threat of fundamental Islam in the Republic. The Javanese Muslim often knows more that is Indic than is Islam and indeed, the Islam which came to Indonesia in the fifteenth century is Sufi flavoured, and potentially a source for investigation into Chinese influence as much as the more established line that Islam came from the sub-continent. Indigenous politics however discourage this line of connection, although the oral and folk traditions do not blush to admit that some of the nine bearers of Islam to Java were Chinese. Chinese princesses feature in legends and in their contemporary portrayal in a number of courtly theatrical genres.

The female tradition of dance in the Sultan's palace of Yogya provides an interesting index for evaluating the extent to which "Indic" influence prevails today. A study by the Dutch scholar Lelyveld approached the courtly dances from the Indian perspective, and made a number of assertions to support the case for Javanese dance having Indian antecedents, albeit being Javanese with a Javanese spirit (*rasa*) today, a "pure reflection of the cultivated Javanese soul which created it" (Lelyveld 1931: 37, translation by the author). The spirit may be Javanese, and yet the term used for the internally perceived effects of the elements of the performance still echoes a classical Indian concept of *rasa*. Lelyveld noted a number of elements in the Javanese dance which came from India. These included offerings made prior to and sometimes during the performance, which only applies to certain dances, in fact, and such offerings may be to the spirits of the musical instruments, such as the gong, rather than to divinities to whom the dance might be offered; the use of yellow colouring in the skin make-up, in India considerd sacred and princely; lowered eyes and other directions prescribed for certain actions; the salutation' *sembah*, which is like the Indian *añjali*; certain "symbolic poses" such as picking flowers, crying, defiance; some head gestures (unspecified), and most of the hand gestures, "so important for the expression of the gesture" (ibid:37). The motion of the arms and legs however he considers to be particularly of Javanese origin. This last observation is intersting in view of the reaction of western actors to Kathakali and Javanese dance mentioned earlier, where it was precisely the leg movements which were perceived as "like".

There is a reference to Lelyveld's discussion in an article by the late Prince Suryobrongto, a famous dancer of *wayang wong*. Suryobrongto cites Lelyveld's argument that Javanese dance is based on the classical Indian principles of *rasa* (emotion), *bhāva* (the

feeling aroused by *rasa*), and *vyañjanā* (the suggestion that can arouse the imagination and can lead to ecstasy) (Surjobrongto 1978:14-15). In discussion with Prince Suryobrongto during fieldwork in 1983, I enquired further into significance of this comparison, and he explained that he had used Lelyveld "because it was there", not because he felt there to be an essential significance in the comparison. Suryobrongto's comment is revealing, for it shows the kind of pragmatic approach to "facts" which contribute to the contemporary Indonesian search for cultural identity. The more connections with the past, the more legitimate the present.

Although there are general methodological problems with Lelyveld's bequest to the study of Javanese dance, this legitimising impulse must be recognised as an important factor in the persistence of connections made to explain contemporary forms. This has implications for two elements in particular: the expressiveness of hand gestures and of "symbolic poses".

Referring to the four basic hand positions used in the women's dance mode, (*putri*) in the Yogya tradition, Lelyveld makes a correlation between these and the *asaṁyuta* "simple poses" of what he calls "vedic texts" (ibid: 157), although the complete term is *asaṁyuta-hasta*, which describes the single hand gestures as distinct to the combined ones (*saṁyuta-hasta*).

The four Javanese hand gestures are:

ngruji, in which the palm is held at a right angle to the wrist with the thumb crossing diagonally;

ngepel, the closed fist with the thumb inside the fingers;

nyempurit, with the hand held at a right angle to the wrist with the second finger resting on the top of the thumb;

ngithing, similar to the last, but with a circle made by the third finger resting on top of the thumb.

Lelyveld makes the following correlations (ibid.77):

ngruji: *patākā*;

ngepel: *muṣṭi*;

nyempurit: *kaṭaka-mukha, Katala hasta, siṁhakarṇa;*

ngithing; *kulārṇavatantra*; *brahmara* (Fig.7).

There are however a number of problems with these identifications.

Firstly, in all Javanese hand positions with the exception of *ngruji*, the fingers should be gently curved, so that the hands are "like orchids", the phrase used by a senior teacher of female dance in the palace of Yogya. This is different from the outstretched

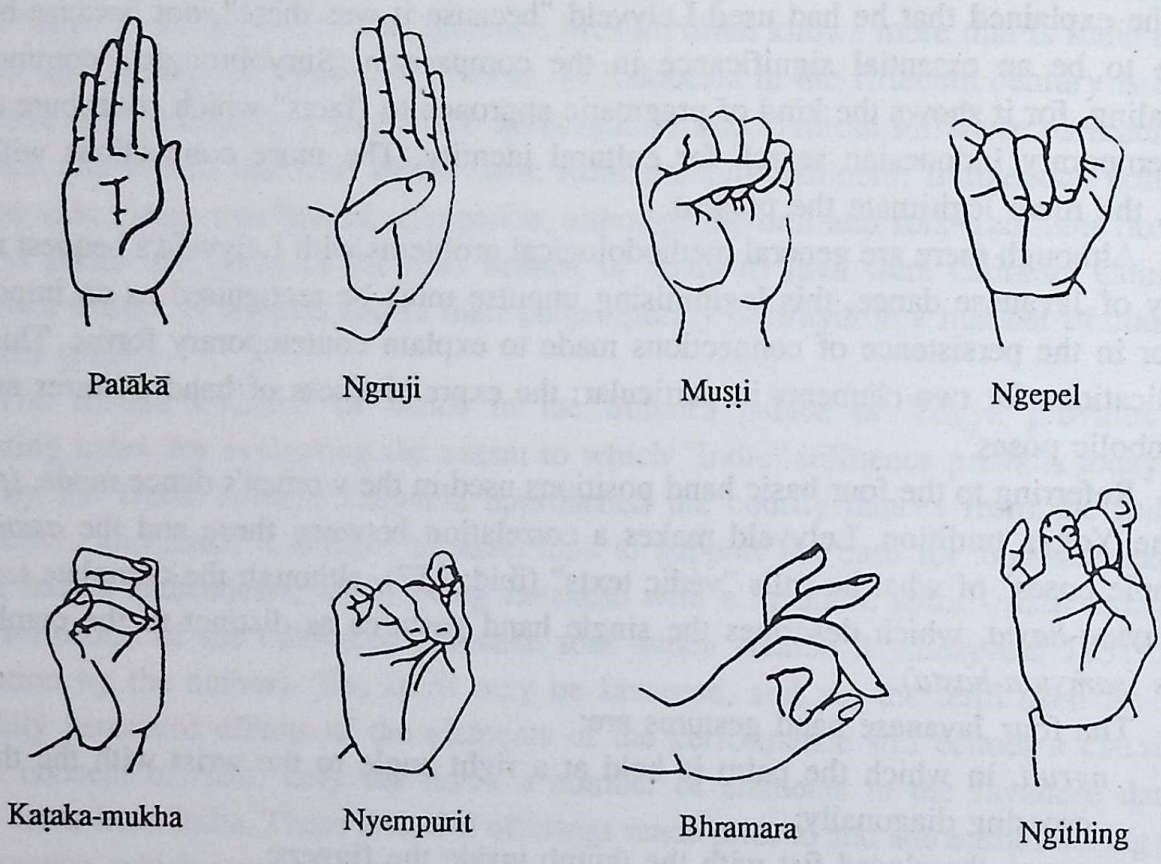

Fig.7. Four basic hand positions from women's dance in Yogyakarta, Java, compared to classical Indian single hand gestures (after Bhavani 1965:86-7)

fingers in the classical Indian prescriptions, although it should not be forgotten that there is considerable variation in the representations of *asaṁyuta* positions which Lelyveld claims the four Javanese hand positions represent, both according to tradition, region, and text (see Bhavani 1965:82-143; Gaston 1982:36-46). We are dealing with a complex and heterogenous classification system. The representations of the *asaṁyuta-hasta* themselves diverge from the Yogyakarta gestures also: for example, *ngruji* has the thumb diagonally across the palm, whereas *patākā* does not. The identification of gesture is not necessarily fixed: for instance, in making loose connections between Javanese and Indian hands, one dance textbook in Yogya compares *ngepel* to *śikhara* and *nyempurit* to *haṁsāsya* (Supartha and Supardjan 1980).

Secondly, the way in which the hand gestures express meaning in Indian traditions varied widely. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself suggestes that the denotational codes are often not adhered to : "Sometimes, out of necessity, their uses [the dance hands] are interchanged, and the names given are due to their predominant use in drama and dance" (Ghosh 1951:189). Outside the classical canon, in the numerous regional traditions in the subcontinent, stylised gesticulation patterns of the hands are absent in most forms (Vatsyayan 1980:13). In the case of gestural codes being used, some joined hand gestures could be used without denotational significance in "pure" dance, although in the narrative *nṛtya* dance they would refer denotationally, pointing to external objects which themselves would generate feelings.

Javanese dancers today will admit that the gestures may *look* like *mudrās,* but that there is no intended denotational significance. Instead, the gestures are for beauty, and their use is determined according to conventions. For instance in female dance, when the hands are both held in front with bent elbows, the left hand must be in *ngruji,* and the right in *nyempurit. Ngithing* is usually made by both hands held low away from the sides of the body. These conventions are for beauty and grace, and for the dance, it is the supple fluidity of the wrist which matters more than the hands gestures, which are very limited.

It might be argued that these gestures represent the sad remains of a once full mimetic tradition which was killed off by the coming of Islam. However this argument is unconvincing if we consider denotation in Balinese hand positions, *sekar*, 'flowers', a term formerly applied to Javanese gestures (*'kembang'*, Lelyveld 1922) but no longer current. These 'flowers' have no signifying power either. During a workshop in London in 1985, the reknowned teacher of *Legong* dance from the village of Saba, Gusti Gede Raka, explained that although the *padma mudrā* may be used in performance, and also the *sembah* salutation, the hand movements are done for beauty and abstract aesthetic effect.[7] As in Java it is the fluidity of the wrist, with the addition of characteristic Balinese accents and tensely stretched fingers out which provide the aesthetic significance. Hands in Java and Bali do not tell stories—not stories with external references, although they may capture the delighted sense and charm the eye and the feelings. Bali

[7] In her thesis on the vituoso masked dance, *Topeng Pajegan,* Deborah Dunn compares to mudrā the gestures *mangandjali* (salutation), *nepuk gelang kana* (putting on the right-hand bracelet?), and *ngagem chakra* (the chakra position). She does however say that they are "reminiscent" of mudrā, rather than functioning as mudrā (Dunn 1983:204).

is as Hindu as it ever was, and it would seem that the developed gestural codes of classical Indian traditions, if they ever worked practically in India itself, rather than providing a complex system of iconography for temple adornment only, were not transmitted to the eastern archipelago, nor did they define a meaning system in Javanese and Balinese dance which is implied in the codes for, say, *Bharatnāṭyam.*

The "symbolic poses" alluded to by Lelyveld raise similar problems. The nomenclature and forms of movement sequences vary according to region, and it is difficult to ascertain for how long particular movement classifications have been used. The professional dancers of the villages in Central Java do not recognise names for the movements they do; codification is a feature of the courts, and contributes to the complexity which fosters the classical and elitist character of its performance practices. Although there is no concept in Javanese dance of the "pure" and "mimetic" categories of Indian dance, there are certain kinds of dance movement which may have a mimetic role within a particular genre, although the same movement may be used in an abstract sense in another: for instance, movements named for self-adorning gestures may or may not represent a person making themselves attractive, and even when they do, they are often interpreted metaphorically: the preparation of the body is a sign of spiritual preparation. And indeed, in the tradition of the Sultan's palace in Yogya, the 'dance of Mataram" philosophy (*Joged Mataram*) aspires to a state where concentration, determination, focus and determination result in an inwardly turned expressivity where the movements happen automatically and the dancer is in a state of contemplation (Surjobrongto 1978).

Named movement sequences (*beksa*) in the Yogya tradition may be classed in the following categories: self adorning movements (fixing hair, fixing crown etc.); fighting movements (parry, fend thrust); movements named for what they do (kneel, stand); movements which are different kinds of walking; and finally, movements named for natural phenomena (waves of water, elephant curls his trunk, areca palm in the wind). These movements in general are used for aesthetic effect, although there is a gesture which indicate looking, used before fighting for instance. Also, movements may provide a sign that a performance is about to finish: the 'flying' movement done in the kneeling position in the *Bedhaya* dance indicates that the dance is about to finish. The movement may suggest interpretations about departing nymphs and so forth, but its marker as a sign of approaching conclusion should not be overlooked. Such semiotic functions have also been noted in the case of Chinese theatre, where a sleeve gesture meaning helplessness is used not to refer to that state, but to give a sign that a song is about to end (Gloria Strauss, cited in Royce 1977:209).

The group of movements named for natural phenomena needs further comment, particularly as there are named movements in Indian traditions which are similar: *sāgara gati* 'waves of the sea', for instance (Vatsyayan 1980:71). More suggestively, 'the elephant curls his trunk' (*gajah ngoling*), is a name for a movement found in the *mak yong* theatre of Malaysia, a form with originated in the courts and is now part of village repertoires and used for entertainment and healing. The gesture of 'elephant raising its trunk' is used in the opening sequence of the drama, 'facing the fiddle' (*mengadap rebab*), and is explained as meaning that the hero has encountered a god and is thus associated with fertility (Danaan 1986:115).

The association of the elephant reference in dance movement with the Hindu divinity Gaṇesha, for instance, is not a recognised idea in Yogya. Rather, the *gajah ngoling* movement is discussed with reference to the elephants formerly kept by the Sultan as signs of his majesty. The curling of the trunk is compared to the elephant saluting his royal master. More importantly, the gesture is said to be named, as are other such "natural references", for reasons of similarity: the movement is like the movement of the elephant raising its trunk (Fig.8), like trees in the wind and so forth. This type of correlation is reminiscent of the discussion of *lakalaka* in the island of Tonga, in which there is a story section where movements allude to things sung about them, the allusion being not to the things themselves, but to their actions (Kaeppler 1971:179). The Javanese movements do not allude to the sung accompaniments usually, except perhaps a general observation such as the beauty of the princess walking in her flower garden, for example; what matters in the naming of the dance movements is the principle of resemblence of movement. The movement and its quality is the important factor. It is not surprising that the aesthetic value most prized in the Yogya palace tradition is that of flowing water (*toya mili*), a phrase which refers to the unceasing flow of movement, a value most supremely expressed in the old ceremonial dances for women from the palace, the *Bedhaya* and *Serimpi*. These are the dances which are most often described in terms of their sacrality and relation to the dances of the devadasi, but which are the most abstract of the palace repertoire[8] It is in these forms that movement most exemplifies itself, rather than imitating nature (Goodman 1976; see further Hughes-Freeland forthcoming).

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[8]The inadequacy of words to describe the feeling of *Bedhaya* caused me to return to Yogyakarta to make a visual document about this tradition. The result can be seen in my film *The dancer and the dance* (1988, Royal Anthropological Institute and National Film and Television School).

Fig.8. Starting to curve the hands in the *Gajah Ngoling* movement: the hand gesture is like an "elephant raising its trunk"

These remarks suggest two things. Firstly, that the aesthetic appreciation of traditions in India need to be understood in the context of their own history and practice, rather than as reflections or versions of an ancient written textual tradition. Secondly, that Indonesian performance traditions such as the examples discussed also require a contextualised and specific methodological approach, rather than being subjected to the preemptive application of assumption about the appropriateness of explanation by comparison: comparison to something which itself is not a established historical fact or process.

There are a number of aspects regarding performance I have not discussed here, such as the classification of dance modes and their relation to characterisation in the shadow play, an imporant interpretative correlation used in the Yogya palace tradition. Nor have I discussed the conventions concerning story and costume both of which have been identified as being more relevant signs of Indian influence within the performance culture of Java (Brakel 1976). It must be obvious that I have deep reservations about the making of comparisons where the grounds for making such comparisons are not firm, and would assert that rigorous empiricism is preferable to the speculative romance of some of the approaches mentioned here. However, it is important to recognise that the studies of Indian culture and thought have yielded important findings for the study of culture society in general, not on a diffusionst basis but on the grounds of discovering non-western philosophical systems which have important implications for classificatory systems and concepts in non-western societies. The value of studying Indian performance traditions resides not in the interpretation and simplification of its elements to a western model, but in the opportunity it affords scholars from other regions, east or west, to grasp the varieties of ways there are through which to make sense of the visible and invisible world. This kind of project is far from the diffusionist or the structuralist: it makes an appeal to overcome cultural habits of thought, and to give place to traditions of thinking which originated in regions outside classical Greece.

There are already signs in Indonesia that western approaches to classification are replacing indigenous systems, and that there are radical political as well as social implications from these changes. One reaches a situation where, for instance, Indonesian scholars assume patterns of rationalism and objectivity where western thinkers and scientists have started to question the foundations of their methodologies and theories (Chalmers 1978). In order to find the intellectual standards of the future, we need to start by examining the mystiques which lurk behind our so-called objective rationales and to find on what basis the connections we take for granted rest.

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BOROBUDUR, THE *TATTVASAṀGRAHA*, AND THE *SANG HYANG KAMAHĀYĀNIKAN*

Kazuko Ishii

Introduction. For more than a century, much has been discussed about Borobudur, about its significance, reliefs, pantheon and so on. And many great scholars like N.J. Krom, F.D.K. Bosch, W.F. Stutterheim, J.G. de Casparis have stated views in their remarkable studies.

In this paper I would like to express my view on Borobudur, mainly on its pantheon, based on the *Tattvasaṁgraha* (Sanskrit text edited by K. Horiuchi 1983), and Chinese translation by Amoghavajra (Taisho 18 No.865), and the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (Kats 1910).

The *Tattvasaṁgraha* is one of the sutras of esoteric Buddhism which is said to have been established in South India in the latter half of the 7th century. The *Tattvasaṁgraha* was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra in 753. The one which was translated into Chinese by Vajrabodhi in 723 (Taisho 18 No. 866) is different from the translation by Amoghavajra. Vajrabodhi's version may be a kind of manual for ritual. Vajrabodhi, before reaching China, stopped over at Śrīvijaya in 718. And according to a Chinese source (Taisho 55:881), Amoghavajra met Vajrabodhi in Java and became his disciple.

In 1015 the *Tattvasaṁgraha* was newly translated into Chinese, this time by Shih-huo (Taisho 18 No.882). This version corresponds to the Tibetan translation and the existing Sanskrit text. Amoghavajra's version corresponds to Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala-vidhi-vistara in the Sanskrit text.

Meanwhile, the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (hereafter *SHK*) and the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya* (hereafter *SHKM*) are Old Javanese treatises on esoteric Buddhism, established around the 10th century. In 1910, J. Kats published the text and translation of both *SHK* and *SHKM*. Since some years I have been translating the two texts into Japanese and analyzing them. This paper is based on the outcome of my study.

The Buddha statues in Borobudur. In Borobudur, as many as 504 Buddha statues are placed geometrically. From the foot and first to third gallery we can find four kinds of Buddhas, with different mudrās according to each direction. The Buddhas at the fourth gallery have the same mudrā and are facing four directions. The total number of the Five Buddhas is 432. Then at the circular terrace 72 Buddhas are placed in latticed stūpas. The mudrā of the six kinds of Buddhas in Borobudur are as follows:

East	bhūmisparśa-mudrā	South	varada-mudrā
West	dhyāna-mudrā	North	abhaya-mudrā
Four directions	vitarka-mudrā		
Circular terrace	dharmacakra-mudrā		

Next, I will examine the explanation about mudrās, of the Five Buddhas in the *Tattvasaṁgraha*. The following Sanskrit text is depicted from subsection 6 of the critical edition of the *Tattvasaṁgraha* by K. Horiuchi . The number refers to the paragraph in this edition.

(285)....bodhyagrī nāma mudrēyam buddhabodhi-pradāyikā//
(286) Akṣobhyasya tu bhūsparśā Ratne tu varadā tathā/
Amitāyoḥ samādhyagrā Amoghasyābhayapradā//

Based on the above passage, we can identify the name of the four Buddhas in Borobudur, that is, East—Akṣobhya, South—Ratna(sambhava), West—Amitāyus (=Amitābha), North—Amogha(siddhi). The four Buddhas of Borobudur agree with those of the *Tattvasaṁgraha*. The fifth Buddha in the *Tattvasaṁgraha* is Vairocana with bodhyagrī-mudrā.[1] This mudrā is different from that of Borobudur. I will discuss the fifth Buddha later.

Now, I will examine the 72 Buddhas on the circular terrace. N.J. Krom (1927:158) considers the sixth Buddha as Vajrasattva. Y. Iwamoto (1973:289) takes the view of Śākyamuni, which according to him, based on the pantheon of *SHK*. But, his pantheon is a little bit different from mine as shown in Fig.1. Iwamoto omitted Diwarūpa and Bhaṭāra Hyang Buddha. Lokesh Chandra considers it as Vairocana (1980:31), and R. Hikata regards it as svasambhogya-dharmakāya. S. Togano considers the whole monument of Borobudur as the Maṇḍala of Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva (Togano 1982:461). I

[1]Tathāgata Vairocana in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala iconography takes the bodhyagrī-mudrā, and is crowned and long-haired (bodhisattva style). We can find description of the above-mentioned features of Vairocana in Vajrabodhi's version of *Tattvasaṁgraha*. But in the another version translated by Vajrabodhi too (Taisho 18:264), Vairocana is portrayed in tathāgata (Buddha) style and with bodhyagrī-mudrā. In Java we can find both tathāgata style and bodhisattva style of Vairocana with bodhyagrī-mudrā. But as far as I know, the number of tathāgata style is much more than the bodhisattva style. The tathāgata style was possibly based on the above mentioned text.

myself take the view that Borobudur is a Maṇḍala, but I take as basis of the descriptions of the *Tattvasaṁgraha*.

Borobudur and the Tattvasaṁgraha. First I will introduce an excerpt from the introduction (nidāna) of chapter I of the *Tattvasaṁgraha*:

(7) Atha bhagavān Mahāvairocanaḥ sarvākāśadhātusadāvasthitakāyavākcitta-vajraḥ/ (8) sarvatathāgatasamavasaraṇatayā sarvavajradhātvavabodhanajñānasattvaḥ/ ---sarvākāśavyāpi---(13) umāpatiḥ---viṣṇu-jiṣṇur---mahāmuniḥ---triloka (14) pitāmahaḥ ---niṛvrti--buddhaḥ---(15) jñānaḥ pāramitānayaḥ---sarvatathāgataḥ---vairocano--- (17) bhagavān mahābodhicittaḥ Samantabhadro mahābodhisatvaḥ sarvatathāgata-hṛdayeṣu vijahāra //

[translation] (7) Bhagavān Mahāvairocana is dwelling permanently in the whole of space and his works of body, speech, and mind are steadfast like vajra. (8) always having contact with all the Buddhas and he is the essence of perfect jñāna to understand every element---pervading the whole of space---(13) he is God Śiva (husband of Umā) ---God Viṣṇu, God Indra,---Śākyamuni---Three Worlds---(14) God Brahmā---nirvāṇa--- Buddha---(15) jñāna, pāramitānaya---sarvatathāgata---Vairocana (17) The Holy Mahāvairocana, who has mahābodhicitta of Samantabhadra, dwells in the heart of sarvatathāgatas (all the Buddhas).

Mahāvairocana represents Absolute Reality. It pervades the whole of space and includes every phenomena and reality. God Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Indra, Buddha, Vairocana etc. are all the embodiment of Mahāvairocana. The Sūtra says that Mahāvairocana dwells in the heart of sarvatathāgatas (all the Buddhas). I am of the opinion that this passage is embodied in 72 Buddhas with dharmacakra-mudrā in latticed stūpas on the circular terrace of Borobudur.

Mahāvairocana assumes the body of all the Buddhas. The Absolute is invisible to us, but it reveals itself in the form of all the Buddhas. The Buddhas in the latticed stūpas can hardly be seen from the outside, but if we gaze at the inside, we can recognize them. The Shingon Sect of esoteric Buddhism in Japan has two dharmakāyas, these are "honchishin" and "kajishin". "Honchishin" is "dharma" itself and "kajishin" is its observable body. I believe that the Budddha with dharmacakra-mudrā in the latticed stūpa is the observable body, Kajishin of Mahāvairocana.

From the above excerpt, it is clear to us that in the *Tattvasaṁgraha* God Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā are all the embodiment or attributes of Mahāvairocana. I presume that in Old Java, before coming of the *Tattvasaṁgraha* at the beginning of 8th century, the idea of Absolute Reality; like Mahāvairocana, was not introduced yet, though the concept

of Trimūrti had been already accepted. I am of the opinion that Śailendra kings converted to Esoteric Buddhism because of the introduction of Mahāvairocana, Absolute Reality, that commands the three highest gods of Hinduism.[2] Mahāvairocana was surely accepted as a source of Power. Under the new religion, the king obtained greater cosmic power than any of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā.

Now we go back to the story of the *Tattvasaṁgraha*. The Sūtra tells us that all the Buddhas went to the place where bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi was practising yoga. The name of the bodhisattva, Sarvārthasiddhi reminds us to Gautama Siddhārtha. All the Buddhas aroused him and said to him: "You have been practising austerities without knowing the truth of sarvatathāgatas. You cannot become a complete Buddha by this samādhi alone." Then the bodhisattva asked them: "How shall I proceed?" All the Buddhas taught him the method of attaining complete Buddhahood. The method taught by them was fivefold Meditation, that is: 1) attainment of the correct knowledge of one's innate Bodhi-mind by meditating on one's mind until one perceives it to be like a full moon: 2) bringing to perfection the Bodhi-mind by meditating repeatedly on one's mind; 3) accomplishing the adamantine Bodhi-mind by perceiving the vajra in meditation; 4) attainment of the adamantine body through union with one's favoured buddha; 5) attainment of the Buddha's perfect body (Inagaki 1983:82).

At the fourth stage, the Bodhisattva was initiated by all the Buddhas with the vajra-name "vajradhātu", and he became Vajradhātu tathāgata. After that, all the Buddhas started for vajramaṇiratnaśikhara-kūṭāgāra on the top of Mt. Meru (Sumerugirimūrdhā).

(32) upasaṃkramya Vajradhātuṁ tathāgataṁ sarvatathāgatatve 'dhiṣṭhāya, sarvatathāgatasiṁhāsane sarvatomukhaṃ pratiṣṭhāpayām āsur iti // (33) Atha khalv Akṣobhyas tathāgato, Ratnasaṃbhavaś ca tathāgato, Lokeśvararājaś ca tathāgato, 'Moghasiddhiś ca tathāgataḥ, sarvatathāgatatvaṃ svayam ātmany adhiṣṭhāya bhagavataḥ Śākyamunes tathāgatasya sarvasamatāsuprativedhatvāt / sarvadiksamatām adhyālambya catasṛṣu dikṣu niṣaṇṇaḥ/

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[2]In the Kelurak inscription (Sarkar 1971:46), we also find a description suggesting Absolute Reality. In this case it is called "Mañjuśrī". The passage is as follows:

ayaṃ sa vajradhṛk śrīmān brahmā viṣṇur maheśvaraḥ /
sarvadevamayaḥ svāmī mañjuvāg iti gīyate //

(He, the Wielder of Vajra, the auspicious one, is Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara; he consists of all gods and is praised as Mañjuvāg.)

In the *Mañjuśrījñānasattvasya paramārthā nāmasaṁgīti*, Mañjuśrī is described as Ādi-buddha like Mahāvairocana (Togano 1983:228).

[translation]. (32) After moving there, all of the Buddhas blessed Vajradhātu tathāgata as sarvatathāgata and let him take a seat of Siṃhāsana so as to face every direction. (33) At that moment tathāgata Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Lokeśvararāja and Amoghasiddhi bless themselves as sarvatathāgatas. Tathāgata Śākyamuni (Vajradhātu) understood the equalness of every existence, and the four other tathāgatas, who also understood the equalness of every direction, took their seats in the four directions surrounding Śākyamuni (Vajradhātu).

From the above description it is clear that in the vajramaṇiratnaśikhara-kūṭāgāra on top of Mt. Meru, tathāgata Śākyamuni (Vajradhātu) took his seat to face all (four) directions and each of the four Tathāgatas took their seats to face their own directions. I believe that this description is embodied in the Five Tathāgatas of the foot and first to fourth gallery of Borobudur.

According to Indian cosmology, Mt. Meru is the cosmic mountain at the center of the Universe. Many scholars have stated that Borobudur is a replica of Mt. Meru. I am of the opinion that the vajramaṇiratnaśikhara-kūṭāgāra, where the sarvatathāgatas have moved is the circular terrace of Borobudur. The kūṭāgāra is decorated with vajra, maṇi and ratna, and I believe that the square and rhombic pattern of the bell-shaped latticed stūpa represent the jewellery.

From the above description it is also known to us that Tathāgata Vajradhātu was called Śākyamuni, but the name of tathāgata Vairocana is not used here. Vajradhātu can be identified with Vairocana at the beginning of subsection 2; Emanation of Sixteen Bodhisattvas.

(34) Atha bhagavān Vairocanas tathāgato'cirābhisambuddhaḥ sarvatathāgata samantabhadrahṛdayaḥ sarvatathāgat'ākāśa-saṃbhava mahāmaṇiratnābhiṣeka-bhiṣiktaḥ— /

[translation]. (34) Then, tathāgata Vairocana, who has not long attained enlightment, obtained hṛdaya (heart) of Sarvatathāgata Samantabhadra, and was initiated in the abhiṣeka of mahāmaṇiratna emerging from ākaśa (space) of Sarvatathāgatas— /

From the above mentioned passages, it is certain that "he who has not long attained enlightment" is Sarvārthasiddhi who was initiated with the vajra-name "Vajradhātu". In short, Śākyamuni is Vajradhātu and Vairocana.

The mudrā of the fifth Tathāgata in Borobudur is Vitarkamudrā. Śākyamuni (Buddha Gautama), after enlightenment preached his first sermon to five bhikṣu (his former companions) at the Deer Park (Mṛgadāva). It was the first turning of the wheel of Law. In Buddhist iconography, some of the images of Buddha at the first sermon take

the dharmacakra-mudrā. But in the reliefs of the *Lalitavistara* of Borobudur, the mudrā is not dharmacakra, but vitarka-mudrā. Moreover in these reliefs there is no Śākyamuni with dharmacakra-mudrā.

I suppose that the planner of Borobudur did not use the dharmacakra-mudrā, because he understood that in the *Tattvasaṁgraha* Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi (Śākymuni) attained Buddhahood after he was instructed by all the Buddhas, and Vairocana was none other than Śākyamuni. In the *Tattvasaṁgaraha* "bodhyagrī-mudrā is explained in the above mentioned subsection 6 (Taisho 18:221, Horiuchi 285). But there is no description of "mudrā" in the above mentioned subsection 1. It is difficult to determine whether the planner had any information about bodhyagrī-mudrā when he made plans. Yet, I believe the planner used the "vitarka-mudrā" based on his understanding that Vairocana is none other than Śākyamuni. He must have thought that the mudrā of Vairocana should be the same as that of Śākyamuni in the *Lalitavistara.*

Tattvasaṁgraha and SHK. The reign of Śailendra dynasty, the builders of Borobudur temple, came to an end when Princess Pramodawardhanī married Śivaite king Rakai Pikatan. Buddhism apparently could not maintain predominance over Śaivism after the reign of Rakai Pikatan. But Buddhist religious leaders seemed to have participated in the court rituals. Pucangan inscription of 1041 A.D. (Yamin 1962 IV:191) mentions that King Airlangga was blessed by religious leaders of Buddhism, Śaivism and Brahmans (*mpuku sogata-maheśwara-mahābrāhmaṇa*) when he was enthroned.

Prior to that, at the beginning of the 10th century, King Siṇḍok moved the capital from Central Java to East Java. I believe that King Siṇḍok was initiated to become a follower to the Mantranaya sect (Ishii 1989:59-60)[3]. It has been proved that King Siṇḍok's daughter was a Buddhist in the Pucangan inscription. And judging from the description of some *SHK* manuscripts (LOr 14749, 14806, 15003), the *SHK* was

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[3]Regarding the name of Mpu Siṇḍok in the *SHK*, the name "Īśāna Bajrotunggaldewa" in the LOr14749, 14806, 15003 is different from that of LOr5129 ("Īśāna bhadrotunggadewa"). I tried to amend "Bajrotunggaldewa" into "Bajrotunggadewa", because I regarded "Īśānabajrotunggadewa" as the vajra-name for King Siṇḍok. In Esoteric Buddhism, a disciple receives the name "Vajra" when he is initiated. The term "vajra" is added to his own name. "Īśānabajrotunggadewa" or for short "Īśānabajra" is supposed to be the vajra name of King Siṇḍok. The Vajra name of King Kertanagara of Singhasari Dynasty was "Śrī Jñāna Śiva Vajra" in the inscription of Joko Dolok. And in Canto 43 of Nāgarakertāgama, it is "Śrījñānavajreśwara". According to the Pucangan inscription, King Siṇḍok's burial place is "Īśānabajra". I presume the burial place was named after the King's vajra name.

preached by Śrī Sambara Sūrya Waraṇa in Freehold Wanjang which was given to him as "guruyāga (offering to the teacher)" by King Siṇḍok.

The *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya* (*SHKM*) published by J. Kats in 1910 together with *SHK*, seems to have been used as a manual to initiate disciples in the Mantranaya sect of Mahāyāna. The initiation (abhiṣeka) ritual was very important in the Mantranaya sect. The abhiṣeka ritual of the *SHKM* are in principle almost the same as those mentioned in the Vajrabodhi's version of the *Tattvasaṁgraha*, the *Sarvadurgati-pariśodhana-tantra* (Skorupski 1983), and the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (Sakurai 1988).

Among the 42 *SHKM* verses, only two, verse 12 and 13, are found in the *Tattvasaṁgraha* (Sanskrit text and Chinese translation by Amoghavajra). But in Vajrabodhi's version we find verses 1-5, 12, 13, 16-18, 20-22, in the form of either verse or prose. The *SHKM* is possibly an old Javanese Abhiṣeka Ritual as can be seen in Table1:

Table 1

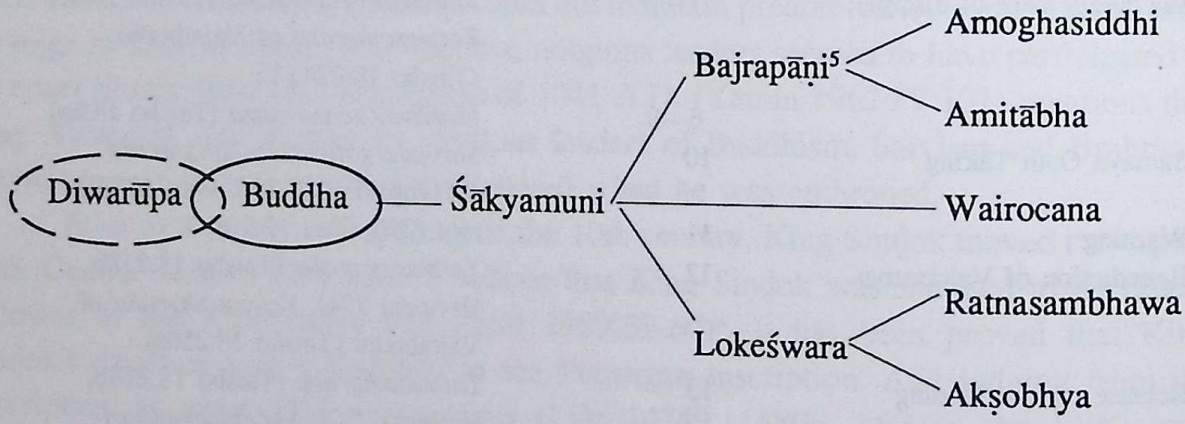
Abhiṣeka Ritual of the *SHKM*

Rites	Verse	Sources
1. Encouragement of disciple	1—5	*Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (Taisho 18:4b) *Tattvasaṁgraha* of Vajrabodhi (Taisho 18:224a-b)
	6—9	*Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (Taisho 18:6a)
2. Samaya Oath Taking	10	*Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra* (Skorupski 1983:296, lines 17-18)
3. Warning	11	*ibid* (296, lines 19-20)
4. Benediction of Vajrasattva	12	*Tattvasaṁgraha* (Taisho 18:218b, Horiuchi 224), *Tattvasaṁgraha* of Vajrabodhi (Taisho 18:250a)
5. Release of face-binding	13	*Tattvasaṁgraha* (Taisho 18:218b, Horiuchi 230), *Sarvadurgatipari-śodhana-tantra* (Skorupski 1983:150, lines 11-12,294, lines 23-24) *Sarvavajrodaya* (Mikkyo Seiten Kenyukai 1987:249, lines 13-15) *Tattvasaṁgraha* of Vajrabodhi (Taisho 18:250c-251a)

[4] In 1915 the Japanese scholar Unrai Ogiwara pointed out that verses 1-9, 16-18, 20-22 of *SHKM* were found in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*. Then in 1950 Shinten (Shiro) Sakai, identified verses 26-42 with verses in the Chinese and Tibetan translation of *Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. Other identifications in Table 1 have been done by the present writer.

6. Looking into Maṇḍala	14-15	*Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (Sakurai 1988:17, lines 16-19)
7. Abhiṣeka		
Taking a. golden spatula	16	*Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (Taisho 18:12a), *Tattvasaṁgraha* of Vajrabodhi (Taisho 18:252a)
b. mirror	17-18	*Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (Taisho 18:12a), *Tattvasaṁgraha* of Vajrabodhi (Taisho 18:224b,252a)
	19	*Sarvavajrodaya* (233,lines 4-5)
c. conch-shell	20-22	*Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (Taisho 18:12a), *Tattvasaṁgraha* of Vajrabodhi (Taisho 18:252a-b)
8. Irretrogression-Consolation	26-42	*Adhyardhaśatikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Taisho 8:814b,c)

As for the *SHK* pantheon, I presume that it has a close relation with the *Tattvasaṁgraha*. The *SHK* pantheon is shown below:



In the *SHK*, Śākyamuni-Bajrapāṇi-Lokeśwara is called "Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya" (Lord Three Jewels), and Wairocana-Akṣobhya-Ratnasambhawa-Amitābha-Amoghasiddhi as "Bhaṭāra Pañca Tathāgata (the Five Buddhas)". The existence of the two groups, Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya and Pañca Tathāgata suggests that there were two different kinds of maṇḍala in Old Java.

I believe the two kinds of maṇḍala were Garbha-maṇḍala of Mahāvairocana-sūtra and Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the *Tattvasaṁgraha*. Furthermore, the emanation of Bhaṭāra

[5]The place of Bajrapāṇi and Lokeśwara in the *SHK* pantheon is reverse. Bajrapāṇi must be connected with Akṣobhya, because they belong to Vajra-kula (family), and Lokeśwara with Amitābha of Padma-kula.

Pañca Tathāgata from Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya is considered to suggest the development of the Three Kulas (families) of the Garbha-maṇḍala into the Five Kulas of Vajradhātu maṇḍala. In the *SHK* those were integrated into one as shown above. In Japan the Garbha-maṇḍala and the Vajradhātu maṇḍala are not considered to be different from each other. However, the dharmakāya of the Garbha-maṇḍala is portrayed as representing the aspect of reality and the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala as representing the aspect of wisdom. In Old Java, as we have seen above, two maṇḍalas were integrated into one by placing the Bhaṭāra Hyang Buddha.

I consider what is called "Diwarūpa" in the *SHK* as representing/symbolizing Absolute Reality. Absolute Reality was personified as (Bhaṭāra Hyang) Buddha. This Buddha corresponds to Mahāvairocana dwelting in the heart of Sarvatathāgatas in the *Tattvasaṁgraha*. Vairocana means "sun" or sunlight", while Diwarūpa means "(having a) body of light" (Zoetmulder 1982:408). In the *SHK* relation between Absolute Reality, Diwarūpa, and its personification, Bhaṭāra Hyang Buddha are described as *Sang Hyang Diwarūpa sira bhaṭāra hyang Buddha ngaran ira* (Holy Diwarūpa is Lord Buddha by name) and *sira ta sang hyang Diwarūpa nga pinakawak bhaṭāra hyang Buddha* (It is Holy Diwarūpa that forms the body (substance) of Lord Buddha) (LOr 14806:25b, Kats 1910:48 note 9). I consider Bhaṭāra Hyang Buddha to be the personification of Absolute Reality which is represented by Diwarūpa. Concerning this, W.F. Stutterheim wrote: "According to the ancient Javanese system the highest figure is the Buddha essence which apparently assumed form in Bhaṭāra Diwarūpa and Bhaṭāra Śākyamuni (Stutterheim 1956:53).

I disagree with Stutterheim's view. My opinion is that the Absolute represented by Diwarūpa assumes the form of Bhaṭāra Hyang Buddha, Buddha essence. The Absolute Reality, or Dharma in Buddhism, is beyond our cognition and imagination, but it reveals itself in the body of a yogin in mental concentration. The revealing and penetration of the Absolute Reality is a state of *unio mystica*, attainment of Buddhahood or Enlightment.

Regarding Diwarūpa, the *SHK* describes as follows: *Sira ta dewa Wiśesa ri boddha, bhaṭāra paramaśūnya ngaran ira, sira ta bhaṭāra paramaśiwa ngaran ira bhaṭāra puruṣa sira de sang wadisisya bhagawan Kapila, sang hyang ātma ngaran ira de sang wadikaṇabhakṣyaśiṣya, bhaṭāra nirguṇa ngaran ira de sang wadi weṣṇawa*.....(b44)[6]

[6]We can derive the following figure from the description of the *SHK* (b44). Paramaśiwa is the Highest God of Śivaism in Old Java. Kapila is the founder of Sāṃkhya system of philosophy, while Kaṇabhakṣa, or Kaṇāda, is the founder of Vaiśeṣika School. Nirguṇa is supposed to be the Nirguṇa Brahman.

"He (It) is Supreme God to the Buddhists, Parama Śūnya (Supreme Void) by name. He is Parama Śiwa (Supreme Śiwa) by name. He is called Lord Puruṣa by disciples of Kapila, Ātma by disciples of Kaṇabhakṣa and Nirguṇa by Wiṣṇuites".

"Diwarūpa" corresponds to Dharma to Canto 135 of the *Sutasoma* (Santoso 1975). and "Sūkṣma" in the passage of *..sang sūkṣmeng tleng in samādhi* in Canto 1 of Nāgarakertāgama (Pigeaud 1960) also represents the Absolute. It is *acintya ning acintya* (inconceivable of the inconceivable) and *byāpi byāpaka sarwwatatwagata* (pervading the whole of existence) (ibid).

We have already seen an approximate description in the above mentioned introduction of the *Tattvasaṁgraha*. Absolute Reality or Dharma is represented by Diwarūpa in the *SHK* and Mahāvairocana in the *Tattvasaṁgraha*. Diwarūpa seems to be the interpretation of Mahāvairocana in Old Java, based on the *Tattvasaṁgraha* text.

Table 2 is a comparison of the pantheon of the Borobudur, *Tattvasaṁgraha* and *SHK*.

Table 2

Borobudur	*Tattvasaṁgraha*	*SHK*
Main stupa	Mahāvairocana (Absolute Reality)	Diwarūpa
72 Buddhas in latticed stupas	Mahāvairocana (dwelt in the heart of sarvatathāgatas)	Bhaṭāra Hyang Buddha
4th gallery (four directions)	Vairocana	Wairocana (V)
Foot and 1st to 3rd gallery		
East	Akṣobhya	Akṣobhya
South	Ratnasambhava	Ratnasambhawa
West	Lokeśvararāja/ Amitāyus (=Amitābha)	Amitābha
North	Amoghasiddhi	Amoghasiddhi

Pañca Tathāgata of the *SHK* corresponds to those of the *Tattvasaṁgraha*. Amitābha, however, is named Lokeśvarāja in subsection 1, and as Amitāyus in subsection 6.

As we have seen before, Borobudur pantheon corresponds to the description of introduction (nidāna) and subsection 1 in the *Tattvasaṁgraha*. And the *SHK* pantheon

corresponds to Borobudur and the *Tattvasaṁgraha*. It is certain that both Borobudur and the Old Javanese esoteric Buddhism of the *SHK* have the same origin, namely the *Tattvasaṁgraha*.

Conclusion. According to Advayavajra of the late 10th century, Mahāyāna Buddhism was divided into two sects, Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya. Mantranaya is the esoteric form of Mahāyāna, which was in a later period called Mantranāya or Vajrayāna.

The term Mantranaya was used in *SHKM* too. The *Tattvasaṁgraha* belongs to the above-mentioned Mantranaya, whereas the Gaṇḍavyūha story of the *Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra* in the reliefs of Borobudur belongs to Pāramitānaya.

Pāramitānaya requires accumulation of merit and wisdom (puṇya and jñāna-sambhāra) to attain Buddhahood, and one cannot attain it in one's very life. However, under the teaching of the Mantranaya, one can attain Buddhahood by means of mantra and mental concentration. These two doctrines in principle contradict each other.

Then, what is the relation of the two in Borobudur? In the *SHK*, Six Pāramitās (Perfections), dāna, śīla, kṣānti, wīrya, dhyāna and prajñā, are explained together with Four Pāramitās, which are usually called Catvāryapramāṇāni (the four infinite virtues), that is, maitrī, karuṇā, muditā and upekṣā. And in the *SHK* the two are joined and called Ten Pāramitās. This Ten Pāramitās differs from the Ten Pāramitās taught in the *Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra*.

After explaining the Ten Pāramitās, *SHK* mentions Mahāguhya (Big Secret) and Paramaguhya (Highest Secret). The Big Secret consists of yoga (mental concentration), bhāwanā (meditation), Caturāryasatya (the fourfold of noble truth) and Ten Pāramitās, whereas the Highest Secret is the way to attain Buddhahood by means of breath control with the germ-syllable "AṂ-AḤ".

Practising the Ten Pāramitās means the accumulation of merit and wisdom which are preparatory steps to attain Buddhahood.[7] The stories in the reliefs of the Borobudur seem to be intended to teach them. In the Mantranaya, one is to attain Buddhahood when the preparatory steps are surpassed by means of mantra and mental concentration.

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[7]According to *b* 14 of the *SHKM*, the merit and wisdom equipment is obtained when one attains Liberation (*Sumākṣātkṛta ikang kalepasen, ikā nang dwaya sambhāra, nang jñāna-sambhāra puṇyasambhāra kapangguha ika denta*). It seems that in the Mantranaya performing altruistic practices or accumlating merit and wisdom, or the spirit of Pāramitānaya is not a pre-requisite to the attainment of Buddhahood. In the Mantranaya,

I believe the Borobudur is a monument of Vajradhātu maṇḍala, representing the state of Buddhahood, and embodiment of what is called by Japanese Mantrayana followers as *Mitsugon Jōdo* "Pure Land of Mahāvairocana".

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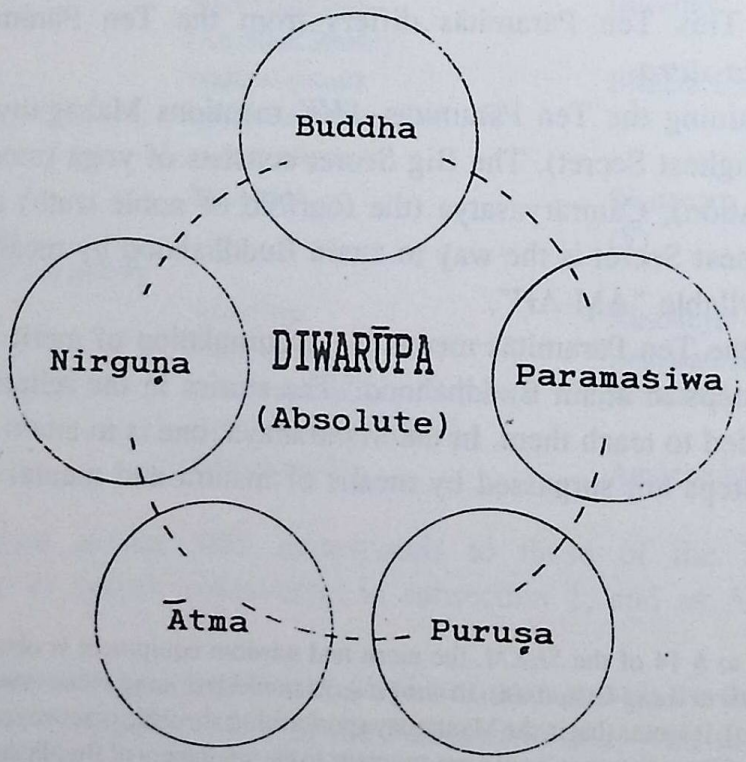
the accumulation of merit and wisdom is replaced by "meditation". Six Pāramitā meditation is found in Vajrabodhi's version of *Tattvasaṁgraha* (Taisho 18:247). And Catvāryapramāṇāni is also practised in meditation.

Fig.2



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TEXT, TEMPLE AND TIRTHA

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Introduction. It is well known that the dating of the Old-Javanese Ramayana (henceforth OJR) has been a much debated issue among specialists of ancient Java. Estimates varied between the 10th and 13th centuries, until Poerbatjaraka pushed back the date of origin to the end of the Central-Javanese period, i.e. about 900 A.D. during the reign of Balitung. His conclusions were not only based on linguistic and literary arguments, but also on the fact that the titles of the village authorities mentioned in the OJR were also found in inscriptions from the Central-Javanese period but not from the East-Javanese era (Poerbatjaraka 1926). In another article, following upon a suggestion by Bosch, Poerbatjaraka (1932) further noted that the OJR contained a description of a temple complex reminiscent of Hindu-Javanese art from the Central-Javanese period, specifically of the temples Sewu and Lara Jonggrang. Though Poerbatjaraka also mentioned Sewu, it is clear from his discussion of the OJR (which he had labelled fanatically Sivaitical) that he mainly had in mind Lara Jonggrang, mentioning such correspondences as the rows of small temples, and the Kāla heads over the temple doors.[1]

Poerbatjaraka's views were not left undisputed. Rather than the passage about the temple complex, which might have been a later interpolation, the objections concerned the exact dating and authenticity of the text as a whole. This entailed a specialist debate involving questions such as metrics, prosodic features, and intercalations. Hooykaas, in particular, urged caution. As long as the greater part of Old-Javanese religious tracts were still only available in manuscripts, he said, Poerbatjaraka's remarks, for instance on the description of the temple, could merely be called enlightening, not decisive (Hooykaas 1958).

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[1]See Jordaan (1989) for a more detailed discussion of Poerbatjaraka's views. Recently, Robson again called attention to the resemblances with candi Sewu. However, being unable to decide whether it referred to candi Sewu or Lara Jonggrang, Robson proposed "that the author has created a temple-complex out of his imagination, perhaps taking elements from Candi Sewu or Lara Jonggrang, making it into a Śiwa temple" (Robson 1980:11).

Just two years earlier, however, De Casparis had published his *Prasasti Indonesia II* including the very important Old-Javanese metrical inscription chronogrammatically dated Śaka 778, i.e. AD 856, of unknown origin. De Casparis argued very plausibly that the inscription probably referred to the Lara Jonggrang temple complex at Prambanan in Central-Java. Furthermore, he contended that a comparison between the OJR and the stanzas in the stone provided new arguments in favour of Poerbatjaraka's early dating of the OJR — an opinion reiterated by Bosch (1958). Remarkably, the points of agreement with the inscription were thus primarily related to the dating of the OJR, and not to the textual allusions to the temple.

My particular interest in the Lara Jonggrang temple complex led me to explore this idea in a recent article entitled "A Holy Water Sanctuary at Prambanan" (1989). This article started with a survey of the various meanings attributed to Hindu-Javanese temples. Before the Second World War, the dominant opinion among scholars was that a *candi* represented a funerary monument. The Lara Jonggrang temple complex was generally regarded as a sepulchral monument for King Balitung. Presently, it is the religious rather than the funerary function that is emphasized. This interpretative shift can be credited, among others, to Soekmono (1974) whose extensive research on Hindu-Javanese candi in general showed that there was no real evidence for their funerary function. According to Soekmono, a Hindu-Javanese candi was not a mausoleum as was once propagated by Stutterheim, but a "temple" (*kuil*). Though significant, I found this conclusion not entirely satisfactory because Soekmono did not offer a new explanation for the presence of the ashes in the ritual deposits of the temple, which had been the pivot of the funerary thesis. In my opinion, the contents of the ritual deposits found at Lara Jonggrang might be understood by referring to the well-known Hindu myth of the Churning of the Milky Ocean. This suggestion involved a renewed comparison of the OJR passage on the temple with the stone inscription, which revealed that both texts contained references to the myth in question. By concentrating on the points that concern the use of water, I then re-examined the arguments put forward by De Casparis in his search for the location of a *tirtha* (holy pool or bathing-place) at the temple complex. By proposing a different location of the tirtha in the central compound, I implied that this compound could be inundated and might have been a reservoir or tank. This conclusion induced me to represent the Lara Jonggrang temple complex as a holy water sanctuary.

Now, more than a year later, I have discovered that in my research I had missed one important article, viz. Aichele's "Vergessene Metaphern als Kriterien der Datierung des alt-javanischen Ramayana" (1969). This inadvertent omission is all the more regret-

table since in that article he had already demonstrated the point I wished to make about the mutual interpretability of the two texts. Not only did his analysis indicate what parts of the OJR could be regarded as being of Central-Javanese origin, it also yielded a number of amendments to the authoritative historical reconstruction by De Casparis. Moreover, I might have profited from Aichele's suggested corrections in the translation of parts of the inscription dealing with the construction and layout of the temple. Here, in an attempt to make amends, I want to review Aichele's article in order to assess the archeological implications of some of his hypotheses and corrections. Matters of archeology will be preceded by a recapitulation of Aichele's major findings to provide some historical context for the discussion. Hopefully, the review will stimulate others to devote their energies to solving the intricate epigraphical, philological and archeological problems still posed by the OJR and the inscription.

Of birds and men. Aichele's main argument for a mid-9th century dating of the original OJR was the use in the text of subtle metaphoric equations between particular birds and certain historical figures. This is best illustrated by the allusive use of the word *pikatan*. Some early stanzas mention birds lured (*pikatan*) by the call of the cuckoo (*kuwong*). Apparently, the spell was not permanent, for in some of the following stanzas it is said that the cuckoo had better follow his own teachings and retreat as a monk into the solitude of the forest. Undoubtedly, Aichele was right in connecting this ambiguous *pikatan* with the struggle between King Rakai Pikatan (one of Balitung's Central-Javanese predecessors) and the Buddhist Śailendras, who were headed by Balaputra. While *pikatan* birds seem to refer to some decoyed followers of Rakai Pikatan, the cuckoo clearly denotes the Buddhist clergy. Still other birds and animals are mentioned, but unfortunately the allusions to their societal position and involvement in the conflict are too cryptic to be understood completely by the modern reader.[2] Probably, in the OJR Balaputra is designated a heron (*baka*), a bird said to stand perfectly still at the waterside so as to catch the fishes by surprise. The statement that this bird is rendered harmless is

[2]E.g. *kalwan* (bats), *kuwon* or *manuk widu* (mockingbirds). From the allusive references to their political behaviour, it seems justified to conclude that during the 9th century A.D. the central Javanese society was torn by serious social tensions and conflicts. See Aichele 1969:137-139.

in perfect agreement with the historical events as reconstructed by De Casparis on the basis of dated inscriptions, including the one containing the description of the temple.[3]

According to De Casparis' theory, Balaputra probably was a Śailendra prince who revolted against Rakai Pikatan. When the revolt failed, Balaputra withdrew his forces to the hills south of the Lara Jonggrang temple complex. These hills are still popularly known as the Ratu Baka plateau. Balaputra's move proved of no avail. His stronghold was taken and turned into a Śivaitic sanctuary.[4] The "bird", however, had flown: prince Balaputra had managed to escape to Sumatra where eventually he became king of Śrīvijaya, "in a manner still completely unknown".[5] In Central-Java, according to De Casparis, the consolidation of the dynasty of Rakai Pikatan marked the beginning of a new period which had to be inaugurated by the foundation of a great temple complex. As I have said, this temple complex (designated Śivagṛha "House of Śiva" in the inscription) reminded De Casparis of candi Lara Jonggrang; a suggestion now accepted by most specialists.

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[3]The other inscriptions were found at Ratu Baka. Two of these were dated A.D. 856, mentioning a king whose names were synonymous with Agastya, viz. Śri Kumbhaja and Kalodbhava.

In November 1983, an inhabitant from the village of Gandulan in the Central-Javanese district of Temanggung unearthed two copper-plate inscriptions dating from the reign of Balitung, viz. Śaka 830 (=AD 908). Among Indonesian archeologists, these copper-plates are known as prasasti Wanua Tengah III. Soon after their discovery, the plates were first examined by the Indonesian epigrapher Boechari who made provisional transliteration of the Old-Javanese text, which remained unpublished however. Three more years elapsed before a young Indonesian historian, Djoko Dwiyanto, in a short paper ("Pengamatan terhadap data kesejarahan dari Prasasti Wanua Tengah III tahun 908 Masehi") presented at the 1986 Indonesian Archeological Congress (PIA-IV), alluded to some of the inscription's historical data. Most relevant to notice in the present context is the fact that the inscription contains a list of twelve names of King Balitung's predecessors. One of these is Rakai Pikatan Dyah Saladu whose death is said to have occurred in Śaka 777 (=AD 855). This valuable piece of information thus fits Aichele's tentative adjustment of De Casparis' reconstruction of the history of Old Mataram during the dynastic transition from the Buddhist Śailendra to Hindu-Javanese rule. Still other corrections such as with respect to the dynastical theories by Stutterheim, Poerbatjaraka, and Boechari were hinted at by Djoko Dwiyanto, but these are of no immediate concern to us now. Clearly, prasasti Wanua Tengah III deserves more scholarly attention.

[4]De Casparis referred to it as a liṅga sanctuary. According to Bosch (1958), there were probably more liṅga than the three mentioned by De Casparis. Perhaps as many as nine, making it a so-called navaliṅga sanctuary.

[5]De Casparis suggested that Balaputra could have asserted claims on the Śrīvijaya throne on account of family relations. In a note, he dwelt on the consensus with respect to the close relationship between the reigning dynasty of Śrīvijaya and the Javanese Śailendras, calling it one of the principal results of post-war research. Regrettably, scholarly interest in this subject seems to have declined. Until now, Sarkar's (1985) provocative essay on the origins of the Śailendra dynasty has not received proper attention. In Indonesia, most archeologists ignore the issue, favouring Boechari's thesis on the Śailendra's Indonesian origins.

Yet in spite of this general agreement, Aichele's analysis demonstrates that the historical reconstruction by De Casparis needs some modification. Though he accepted that Balaputra had started his revolt against Rakai Pikatan, Aichele suggested that Balaputra's final battle on the Raka Baka heights was against Dyah Lokapala alias Rakai Kayuwangi, Rakai Pikatan's immediate successor.

Crucial are the events in AD 856. In De Casparis' view this was a hectic year, in which the final battle and the inauguration of the sanctuaries at Ratu Baka and at Prambanan coincided with Rakai Pikatan's abdication and the transfer of royal power to his successor Dyah Lokapala. Having saved the country, Rakai Pikatan then became a royal hermit (*rājarṣi*), who assumed the title Jatiningrat, and devoted the rest of his life to pious deeds.[6] However, from his readings of the stone inscription, Aichele inferred that Rakai Pikatan had already died in 855, about a year before the final victory. At some earlier point in the conflict, Rakai Pikatan had abdicated in favour of his younger brother Dyah Lokapala, who apparently commanded the army.[7] Presumably Rakai Pikatan became a royal hermit, supporting the battle by mental effort and meditation. From certain expressions, Aichele concluded that Pikatan did not live to witness the final victory. Take, for instance, the word *uparata*, which he translated as "demise" rather than as abdication or "resignation by life", as did De Casparis. In consonance with this, Aichele also suggested that *jatiningrat* should not be taken as an honorary title, but as an epithet hinting at the finiteness of life. The inauguration of the Śiva temple at Prambanan then coincides with the anniversary of Pikatan's death. This may well be the reason for the curious statement in the inscription that the Tanjung tree, called Ki Muhur, planted in front of the temple as a young tree, had by then grown to divine dimensions.[8]

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[6]De Casparis (1958: 318 note 20) had the impression that the Śaiva restoration by Rakai Pikatan and Dyah Lokapala was presented as a national liberation. If correct, it supports his surmise that not only religious factors were involved (ibid.: 294 note 59).

[7]Rakai Pikatan's abdication may have had to do with his close contacts with the Buddhist Śailendra group. According to De Casparis, he was married to a Buddhist princess, Pramodawardhanī, believed to be the daughter of the last Śailendra king. True or not, archeological evidence shows that Pikatan did have close contacts with the Śailendras, lending support to the construction of Buddhists sanctuaries. It is not inconceivable therefore that Pikatan had to abdicate because it was thought that his position would prevent him from taking the firm measures needed. For illustrative purposes I may point out the curious historical parallel provided by *Supersemar*: the letter in which Soekarno relinquished his executive powers to general Suharto following the abortive 1965 coup. Like Rakai Pikatan, Soekarno in an elegant Javanese way was removed from office so that his successor could wipe out the communist elements that were held responsible for the coup. It was a widely held belief that Soekarno could not adequately deal with the issue, partly because of his earlier alliance with the communist party.

[8]Perhaps Ki Muhur is a pun on Ki Luhur, venerable ancestor.

Obviously, Aichele's interpretation has several consequences. If it was really Dyah Lokapala who conquered the heights of Ratu Baka, then it must have been him rather than Rakai Pikatan who was likened to Agastya (in Hindu mythology the vanquisher of the Vindhya mountains), earning him such titles as Sri Kumbhaja, Kalodbhava, Kalaśaja and Kumbhayoni.[9] In my opinion, this re-interpretation goes far in meeting Damais' objections against De Casparis multiple identifications of Rakai Pikatan (Damais 1968:479).

Text and temple. Having roughly sketched the historical context, let me now turn to the Lara Jonggrang temple complex. So as to enable the reader to follow my discussion of Aichele's suggested corrections, I shall first enumerate the "curious correspondences" perceived by De Casparis between the description of the temple in the stone inscription, and candi Lara Jonggrang.[10] These are listed below:

(1) The first point of agreement is found in the size of the temple. De Casparis rightly observed that the text suggested a very extensive Śaiva foundation, one that fits Lara Jonggrang "and Śaiva complexes of such enormous size have been rare" (ibid.309).

(2) Other points of agreement were found in the construction and layout of the complex. Reading the text, "one gets the clear impression" that the construction of the temple followed a distinct pattern, viz. the main buildings, probably denoted by *teas*, the "heart" of the foundation, and the smaller buildings. According to De Casparis, the construction of these small buildings (*anumoda*) corresponds with the situation as found at the temple sites of Sewu, Plaosan and Lara Jonggrang. They all have small temples standing in rows, and of equal height and conception, though different in their details.

(3) The central temples had their own wall (*teasaturusnya*), separating them from the small constructions. This conception is not found everywhere. According to De Casparis, it occurs in the Lara Jonggrang complex, but not in candi Sewu.

(4) Near the gateways, pavilion-like buildings (*rankang*) were erected, probably placed opposite each other and situated within the innermost complex. At least that is the impression one gets, De Casparis wrote. "If this is correct", he continued, "the situation of the two *rankang* would correspond exactly with that [of] the two so-called 'court

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[9]The names Kalaśaja and Kumbhayoni are mentioned in the Pereng inscription, dated AD 862.

[10]Still other features of the temple are mentioned in the inscription, but these could no longer (or not yet) be traced at the Lara Jonggrang complex, e.g. the *halu* or "pestle" (a liṅga?), the *dvārapāla* or "fierce doorkeepers" (statues of *rākṣasa*, or of Mahākāla and Nandīśwara?), the "innumerable, immovable women" (the reliefs of female dancers and musicians at the Śiva temple?). See also Jordaan 1989:32 note 13.

temples' in the inner complex of Lara Jonggrang, where they are placed near the northern and southern entrances respectively" (ibid.303).

(5) In connection with some allusive statements in the text that mention "birds and merchants" taking a bath in order to acquire *siddhayātra* "having a successful (auspicious) journey", De Casparis inferred the presence of a *tirtha* (holy pool or bathing-place), "within or in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple". Rejecting the first possibility, De Casparis assumed the tirtha to have been located outside the two groups of buildings already mentioned. If located outside the wall of the second group, "it is necessary to conclude that there was even a third wall to separate the foundation as a whole from the ordinary, profane grounds" (ibid.308). De Casparis then showed that this conjecture corresponds to the layout of the Lara Jonggrang complex: "as a matter of fact, there is a third wall in the Lara Jonggrang complex, too".

(6) Trying to account for the peculiar layout of this third wall, De Casparis ingeniously suggested that a plausible reason for the construction of the outer wall in this way "was the advantage of having part of the river [i.e. the river Opak] inside the foundation as a whole or at its very border" (ibid. 309). The advantage was an easy access to clean water for the ablutions of priests, for purposes of cult. In this connection, De Casparis called attention to an interesting passage in the inscription that states that the course of the river was diverted "in order that it might touch the grounds" (ibid. 309). If this measure was indeed connected with the tirtha mentioned, "it follows that the form of the complex as a whole could more or less correspond to that of the Lara Djonggrang temples" (ibid. 309).

While De Casparis himself remained hesitant in assuming that the above correspondences offered sufficient proof of the identity, other scholars were more convinced. For instance, Damais (1969:487) found the identification highly probable, "if not absolutely certain", whole-heartedly congratulating De Casparis on the result. Aichele did not question the identification either, he only wondered whether some parts of the text allowed a different interpretation. Although he rather modestly said his interpretations did not agree with those of De Casparis in every respect, I shall show that his corrections all concern fundamental issues.

The first correction relates to De Casparis' translation of the words *teas* and *teasaturusnya*. The former as "heart" (= the central buildings) and the latter as "the heart (of the complex) with its own wall". Aichele could not trace this metaphoric meaning of the word *teas* in the Old-Javanese literature. Judging from other archeological inscriptions and ethnographic reports, it seemed to him that *teas* concerned a foundation stone

("Garantie-stein"), used as a magic protection of the building site. Rather than to a wall surrounding the central complex, *teasaturusnya* probably referred to a fenced foundation stone.

Regrettably, not much can be learned about this stone or its possible whereabouts, in spite of the striking ethnographic parallels mentioned.[11] Apart from this, one should bear in mind that the suggested correction cannot alter the fact that the same stanza indicates the presence of a special kind of wall (*tamwak*). However, the correct translation of the word *tamwak* seems a vexed question. De Casparis said it was not certain that this *tamwak* had the usual meaning of "dam" or "ring wall". He rather thought it referred to brick walls separating different parts of the complex (ibid. 322). In my opinion, however, De Casparis should have kept closer to the text where it suggests a link between a dam-like wall and a stretch of artificial water (=tirtha) in the immediate vicinity of the main temples.[12] Deeming the tirtha's location at this spot improbable, De Casparis was forced more or less to interpret *tamwak* in a plural sense and to look for the *tirtha* somewhere outside the second wall. Set adrift by the statement about the diversion of the river he then came to locate the tirtha in between the second and third walls. In my opinion, De Casparis' reasoning meets with several objections. However, lest I disturb the chronological order, I shall discuss the question of the walls and the tirtha in connection with Aichele's corrections dealing with the river's diversion.

Beforehand we need to consider De Casparis' translation of the stanza mentioning the *rankang analih*: "at the gateways, two small buildings were erected, different in construction". Judging from other examples, Aichele thought that this *analih* was an intentional construct of the poet linking *angalih* "movable" and *alih* "two". Hence his alternative translation: "situated at the gateways there were two palanquins in the form of movable pavilions". An additional note says it probably concerns small wooden buildings, like the *pengapit lawang* mentioned in Galestin's dissertation. Not being a linguist, I shall leave it to others to judge the merits of the new translation. What bothers me though is why the pavilions should have been "movable". In Bali, *pengapit lawang* are

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[11]Nothing is said about the kind of stone or its form. One wonders whether the fenced-off foundation stone could be the same as the small pillar or column marking the magical centre of the complex (O.D. 1939:6-7). Perhaps it was the inscription stone D28.

[12]The special character of the wall may well have a bearing on the identification of the temple. While both candi Lara Jonggrang and candi Sewu have their own inner wall (De Casparis was wrong in stating that candi Sewu lacks such a wall), only the inner wall of Lara Jonggrang can qualify as a "ring wall" or "dam". While candi Sewu has a low and relatively small inner wall with sixteen spouts, Lara Jonggrang's is both higher and significantly thicker, and has only 8 spouts (see Jordaan 1989).

still made of wood, but as far as I know, not because they are ever transported. Is it possible to interpret *analih* as movable in the sense of "removable", i.e. temporary, eventually to be replaced by stone structures? Looking at the present buildings at the Lara Jonggrang complex (which are known as *candi apit*), one might also wonder whether *alih* denotes "a pair", i.e. two pavilions belonging together like a man and a woman.[13] The suggestion would not invite serious consideration, if the inscription did not abound with puns or play on words.[14] More often than once, De Casparis had to admit that stanzas were "complete riddles", "making the impression of being abracadabra". In some instances it seemed to him the poet even resorted to an unknown or esoteric language. The ambiguous use of words is a striking common feature of the inscription and the OJR, making Aichele's assignment to Indonesian philologists all the more challenging.[15]

Let us now turn to De Casparis' translation of the stanza mentioning the diversion of the river, touching the temple grounds: "After the Śiva sanctuary had been completed in its divine splendour, the (course of the) river was changed so that it rippled along the ground". As Aichele indicated, two conflicting views are possible depending on the translation of the conjunction *apan* as either "so that/in order to" or "because". Unlike De Casparis (and, for that matter, Damais) Aichele thought that *apan* had the normal causal meaning of "because". Many years later the Indonesian epigraphist, Boechari, independently reached the same conclusion (Boechari 1978:14, 20).

Assuming they were right, some thorny questions present themselves. As noted in my earlier article, I find the implications hard to reconcile with the great care taken to determine the (magical) centre of the temple complex, prior to its actual construction. Moreover, the new translation would amount to an acknowledgement of a construction defect, one that is in odd contrast to the preceding statement about the temple's "divine splendour". This is a matter not to be treated lightly. Hindu building manuals are quite explicit about the dangerous consequences of building defects for the stability and well-being of the country (Kramrisch 1946:38-39). Furthermore, Aichele's interpretation may well be taken as an affront to the intelligence of the Javanese architects, because it

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[13]While the northern candi apit is decorated with three unidentified reliefs showing male divinities, the southern candi apit bears several reliefs showing female divinities only.

[14]Those mentioned by De Casparis and Aichele include *dharma, anumoda, patih*. Above, I noted the possibility of a pun between Ki Muhur and Ki Luhur. Not being a linguist, I am diffident about mentioning a possible allusion to the goddess Umā in strophe 25 of the inscription (see De Casparis 1956:328 note 97).

[15]"Der Versuch, den alten Sinn wiederzuerkennen, ist eine zwar schwierige, aber auch lohnende Aufgabe, die der indonesischen Philologie heute gestellt ist" (Aichele 1969:129).

suggests that the local people themselves (lacking the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie*, consulted by Aichele) were not sufficiently aware of the dangers of flooding posed by the capricious river Opak.

Aichele thought it likely that at the time of the diversion of the river course, the whole temple complex was not completed, but only the main building devoted to Śiva. This he inferred from the dating of the inscription and the statement "that was the date at which the (statue of the) God was finished and inaugurated". As explained earlier, to Aichele it seemed the inauguration coincided with the first anniversary of Pikatan's death, as is alluded to in the stanza mentioning the tree's miraculous growth. Still, Aichele did not in any way want to exclude the possibility that the planning and layout of the temple complex already provided for the construction of other temple buildings. To him the diversion of the river might well have been a measure to make room for these future buildings.

Conjectural though this suggestion may be, it does have some undeniable attractions. If the time of construction of the larger complex is extended to the reign of Kayuwangi (and perhaps even to Balitung), this would offer a plausible explanation for the East-Javanese elements of style detected by several archeologists. The presence of these elements has always been decisive in their 10th-century dating of the Lara Jonggrang complex. This dating was the very reason why De Casparis could not vouch for his own identification. Yet to enhance its plausibility, the hypothesis must be elaborated. What needs explanation, for instance, is why only the Śiva temple should have been completed. Does not the inscription itself quite explicitly mention the gateway, the *rankang*, as well as the *anumoda* buildings? Perhaps the Śiva temple was singled out by Aichele because it suited his theory of Rakai Pikatan's death. Indeed, Aichele was quite convinced that in building this complex Rakai Pikatan had erected his own mausoleum. This idea comes dangerously close to the funerary thesis refuted by Soekmono. We now know that a candi is a temple, perhaps dedicated to a deified ancestor, but not a sepulchral monument for royal ashes. Those found in temples are ritual ashes and rituals have their own explanations, as I have argued previously.

Finally, the question of the probable location of the tirtha. In my opinion, De Casparis' proposal is not tenable. First, it should be noticed that both the second and third walls are of his own making, as appears from the two following quotations:

"The text does not mention a second wall which surrounded the *anumoda* buildings, but it is obvious that there should have been one since the small buildings still belong to the foundation. The poet describes those details which he thinks worthy of mention..." (ibid. 306).

"If, however, the hermitages and the tirtha were outside the second wall, it is necessary to conclude that there was even a third wall (...). As a matter of fact, there is a third wall in the Lara Djonggrang complex, too." (ibid. 307)

Though the extant parts of the second and third walls could still lend support to De Casparis' conjectures, this is not the case with the tirtha. To my knowledge, no remains of buildings, pools or stairs have ever been found on the nearby banks of the river Opak, in between the second and third walls. Leaving this fact aside, if the poet really described those details which were worthy of mention, why not take his word for it where he says that, close to the main building, "bricks [were used] to construct a *tamwak*, for thus it was desired"? It seems to me that the inner wall of the Lara Jonggrang complex fully meets the qualifications of a "ring wall" or "dam". About two meters wide, it offers enough room for a surrounding platform and parapet (Krom 1923:451). Add to this the raised-stair entrances at the gates, as well as the height of the basements of all the inner temple buildings, and the *tirtha* at this spot becomes imaginable.[16]

Another objection to the solution proposed by De Casparis springs from the fact that the inscription speaks of *siddhayātra* and *mahatisa* "cool (blessing)" in connection with bathing, implying a preceding sanctification of the water. From a symbolic point of view, this condition could not have been met at the profane spot indicated by De Casparis, the one reserved for the hermitages and other so-called "dwellings of human beings". This contradiction led me to reconsider the possibility of a tirtha in the immediate vicinity of temples, "the dwellings for the gods". A fact, moreover, confirmed by the Old-Javanese Ramayana, where it says "the crystal palace [=the Śiva temple] was comparable to Mount Mandara, the courtyard to the Milky Sea" (Poerbatjaraka 1932). It goes without saying that the water from this spot would have been regarded as thoroughly sanctified, and as possessing all the supernatural qualities attributed to it.

The results of Aichele's analysis now provide much stronger evidence against De Casparis' location of the tirtha. Aichele not only denied that the purpose of diverting the river was to make it touch the temple grounds, he also doubted whether at the time of its diversion the second and third walls already existed.

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[16]I now hesitate to refer to the various (migratory) birds mentioned in the inscription as visitors to the tirtha. Further research is needed to assess whether these references too are metaphoric equations (cf. Aichele 1969:139).

But what-about the other location of the tirtha in the central compound? Put bluntly, in my hypothesis the diversion of the river was never interpreted as a measure to fill the central compound with water. Indeed, because of the absence of a direct link between the river and the compound, the supply of water was mentioned as a critical issue. Two alternatives were suggested: conduits to divert the water from the river, and the collection of rain water. A third one may now be added: water carrying.[17]

Not pretending to be knowledgeable in other fields, I also pointed out "the next and more serious question", viz. the feasibility of water collection in the central court-yard. This question, I said, could only be answered satisfactorily by water-engineering research, supplemented by soil tests.[18]

Further research. Awaiting the results of this technical research, it should still be noted that the use of the word tirtha for this bathing-place, though not mentioned as such in the inscription, is in keeping with Old-Javanese parlance. According to Zoetmulder's Old Javanese-English Dictionary (1982:2019), tirtha primarily means a holy pool or holy water. This latter meaning has been retained in present-day Javanese and Indonesian (see e.g. Labrousse 1985, Echols & Shadily 1987). In Bali, the superabundant use of holy water is what caused the syncretic Hindu-Balinese religion to be accorded its peculiar name, i.e. *agama tirtha*, "holy water religion". However, the Indologist Vogel, has disputed this interpretation as being too narrow noting that "in India, every holy spot giving the pilgrim *punyam* is a *tirtha*, whether or not it lies near a spring, river, pond, etc. (Vogel 1941:446, my translation). Other Indologists, like Kramrisch (1946) and Eck (1981; 1984), attest to this broad field of meanings. Having noted that the word stems from the Sanskrit verb *tṛ/tarati*, meaning "to cross over", Eck points out that *tirtha* can also be used for ford, path, or - more generally - passage. *Tirtha*, understood as "doorways upward", giving access to the heavens, is indeed sometimes applied to temples, sacred caves, holy forests, rivers, cities, priests and rituals.

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[17]I owe this observation on water-carrying to G.J. Resink, who recalled how during his former stays in Puri Saren (Ubud), in Bali, the servants were ordered to fetch water from a deep ravine nearby, for cooking, and for filling the *bak mandi* in the bathrooms of several guest-houses.

[18]No exact information is available on the composition of the soil at the temple site. Another factor that may have a bearing on the permeability of the soil is the report that excavations have "revealed that the whole raised site [of the central compound] containing the large temples was fortified by walls built of stones from the river. Though this is not certain, it is assumed that all this was meant to prevent the soil's erosion by heavy rainfall" (O.D. 1938:15, my translation).

Nevertheless, my reading in the field of Javanese archeology, leads me to think that this development did not take firm root in ancient Java. There are several examples to demonstrate that in Java *tirtha* were primarily associated with sacred or sanctified water. Toponymy furnishes some evidence for this. Looking at the present maps of Central-Java, it can still be seen that many of the villages bearing *tirtha* in their names - like Tirtomartani, Kalitirto, Tanjungtirto, Tegaltirto, Jogotirto, Donotirto, Tirtosari, Tirtohargo, and Tirtoharjo - are located near the Opak river.[19] The crucial point, I think, is not to etymologize these *tirtha* as "crossing places", but to connect them with the river itself. Could it be that in former days the Opak river was regarded a holy river, corresponding to the Ganga or another great river in India? Profiting from Stutterheim's keen sense for the significance of toponymical parallels (Stutterheim 1939:80-81), it might even be suggested that to the people concerned the Opak was the Ganga.[20]

The close association of *tirtha* and holy water is also shown at temples. This relationship was not only found to exist at Lara Jonggrang, but in several other Hindu-Javanese temples as well. Take, for instance, candi Sukuh to the east of Solo/Surakarta, in Central-Java. The remains of a small water-conduit system discovered here made Stutterheim posit that "perhaps the water-conduits indicate a mechnanism by which the priest produced and distributed the *toya-tirtha*, holy water; it is remarkable in any case that the reliefs close to the conduits nearly all relate to the holy water, *amrta*" (Stutterheim 1930:28, my translation). Stutterheim's interpretation may shed new light on the function of the bronze conduits and other remains of waterworks in Javanese temples, e.g. *candi* Songgoriti, Merak, Muncul, Arjuna (Dieng), and Ratu Baka (for further details see Soekomono 1974:28-29, Bosch 1961:47-109, 151-170). Noteworthy is the presence in our list of candi Arjuna and candi Sukuh because of their respective position at the early beginnings and at the very end of the Hindu period in Java, being separated in time by more than 500 years. If the waterworks in both temples could be demonstrated to have

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[19]The idea to look for village names containing the element of water and/or *tirtha* was first suggested to me by G.J. Resink, who himself mentioned names such as Banyunibo, Tanjungtirto, Giritirto, Telaga, Sumberharjo, Kretek and Parangtritis.

[20]or one of the other sacred streams: Yamuna, Godavari, Narmada, Sarasvati, Sindhu, Kaveri. Stutterheim was particularly struck by the close topographical correspondence between the Ganga and the Progo river, in the western part of Central-Java. This fact, however, need not rule out our symbolic equation between Opak and Ganga. Stutterheim himself noted that "there might have been more attempts at replicas of either the Holy Land or of the homeland of Indian colonists" (1939:82). See also Eck 1984:167 for a similar observation. The equation of the Opak with the Ganga might have been intended a substitute for the one mentioned by Stutterheim, following the expansion of the Hindu sphere of influence into the central area of the ousted Buddhist Śailendra dynasty.

functioned as conduits for holy water, it would attest to the durability and great significance of this theme in the religious life of the Javanese people.[21] Of course, more convincing evidence is needed to show that *amerta* or holy water really was the common underlying theme of temple waterworks in ancient Java. Furthermore, lest to view the Hindu-Javanese temple in too narrow a perspective (as was the case with the funerary theory), it seems warranted to simultaneously undertake a comparative study of Balinese and mainland Southeast Asian temple architecture.[22]

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[21]Significantly, the first independent journal of Indonesian archeologists was given the title Amerta. Probably, relying on references to its title only, the article by Roxas (1983) contains relevant information. Much to my regret, I did not have the opportunity to verify this.

[22]See e.g. Van Liere 1980.

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THE TORTOISE AND THE GEESE: A COMPARISON OF A NUMBER OF INDIAN AND JAVANESE LITERARY AND SCULPTURAL VERSIONS OF THE STORY

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Introduction. The story of the tortoise and the geese is an Indian animal fable that occurs in the Pāli Jātaka and in various versions of the Pañcatantra (Bødker 1957: no.1001). Numerous variations exist in the narration of the story in the various texts. Two major versions can be discerned: one in which men play a role besides a tortoise and two geese, and one in which there are two jackals (or dogs) instead of men. The first version of the story, in which men figure, is the best known. It runs as follows. A lake is stricken by drought in the dry season. The two geese who live there with their friend the tortoise decide to move to another lake in search of food. The tortoise cannot move such a distance and is threatened by death. Then the geese think up a plan. They will carry the tortoise on a stick. The tortoise will have to bite on the middle of the stick, while the geese will hold each end. Thus they will fly with the tortoise to the other lake. They warn the tortoise not to open his mouth, for then he will fall and die. Midway, however, people see this remarkable scene and comment on it. The tortoise cannot resist the temptation to answer them. He opens his mouth, falls to the ground, and is eaten by the people. In the other version two jackals (or dogs) discuss the event of a tortoise flying through the air, which evokes a similar reaction in the tortoise and similarly leads to its death.

In the present article I wish to present these two versions, first in eleven visual representations, five from India and six from Java, and then in three texts, two from India and one from Java. Finally, I will draw some conclusions as regards the transmission of the story in written and visual form from India to Java.[1]

Visual representations. I have recorded seven depictions from India and six from Java which illustrate the story of the tortoise and the geese. Two of the Indian depictions are known to me only through written references, not by visual representation, so that I

[1]I am grateful to Victor van Bijlert who corrected my translations of the Sanskrit texts, and to Stuart Robson who checked my English.

cannot draw them into this research. They are a depiction from Mallar (Williams 1982:151, note 156) and one from Nagunūr (Sarma 1972:129). The five remaining Indian depictions are a relief from Mathurā dating from the second or third century A.D. and a product of Kuṣāṇa art (fig.1; see also Vogel 1909:528-30; Agrawala 1966:pl.8); a Gupta relief at Bodh Gayā dating from c. A.D. 500 (Fig.2; see also Williams 1982: pl.237); a relief from Nālandā which is a ninth century Pāla work of art (fig.3; see also Deva and Agrawala 1950:201, no. 61, fig.3); a relief in the Viśva Brahmā Temple at Alaṃpūr which was built during the Cālukya period in the seventh or eighth century (fig.4; see also Sarma 1972: pl.131); and a relief at Bellagame which is typical of Hoysala art and may date from the twelfth to mid-fourteenth century (fig.5; see also Anand et al. s.a.:56, pl.18).

The Javanese depictions consist of two Central Javanese reliefs and four East Javanese ones. The Central Javanese reliefs are on Candi Mendut, which dates from c. A.D. 800 (fig.6), and on Candi Sojiwan which dates from the mid-ninth century (fig.7). The East Javanese reliefs date from the mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth century. They are on Candi Jago (mid-fourteenth century, fig.8); on the rear side of a dwārapāla statue in front of the main temple at Panataran (c. A.D. 1347, fig.9); on Candi Gambar (late fourteenth century, fig.10); and on the bathing-place at Panataran (c. A.D. 1415, fig 11).[2]

In these visual representations of the story one can easily discern the two versions defined above, one in which the characters who see the birds flying with the tortoise are men, and one in which they are dogs or jackals. The first version is represented by the North Indian relifs at Mathurā (fig.1), Bodh Gayā (fig.2), and Nālandā (fig.3) which date from the second to ninth century, and by the Central Javanese reliefs at Mendut (fig.6) and Sojiwan (fig.7) which can be attributed to the ninth century. The second is represented by the South Indian reliefs at Alaṃpūr (fig.4)[3] and Bellagame (fig.5) which show a continuity of tradition from the seventh to fourteenth century, and by the East Javanese reliefs at Jago (fig.8), Gambar (fig.10), and Panataran (figs.9 and 11) which are from the mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth century. In the East Javanese reliefs, however, the geese and tortoise have changed places. There are two tortoises instead of one, and one goose instead of two geese, and the tortoises hold either end of the stick, while the goose holds on to the middle instead of the other way round.

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[2]Photographs and full descriptions can be found in Klokke 1990:part II, nos.8, 34, 52, 62, 81, 83. The photographs are not of outstanding quality, but references have been given to better reproductions.

[3]As far as I can see on the photograph in Sarma 1972 (pl.131) a jackal is represented. The photograph is not, however, very clear.

Three moments in the story have been depicted: 1. the geese (or goose) and the tortoise (or tortoises) are still on the ground; 2 the geese (or goose) fly (flies) with the tortoise (or tortoises) while men or jackals are looking on; and 3 the tortoise (or tortoises) has (have) fallen, and men or jackals are seizing them. In the Bodh Gayā (fig.2), Alaṃpūr (fig.4), and Gambar (fig.10) reliefs and in the Panataran relief on the rear side of a dwārapāla statue (fig.9) moment 2 is depicted; in the Mathurā relief (fig.1) moment 3 has been represented; in the Nālandā relief (fig.3), the Bellagame relief (fig.5), the Mendut relief (fig.6) and the Sojiwan relief (fig.7) moments 2 and 3 are depicted in one scene; in the Jago relief (fig.8) moments 2 and 3 are rendered visually in two separate scenes; and finally in the relief on the bathing-place at Panataran (fig.11) moments 1, 2 and 3 are represented in separate scenes.

All reliefs, except the one originating from Mathurā, show the scene of the tortoise(s) being carried by the geese (or goose) on a stick. The Indian versions are very similar in composition. Two geese hold the stick at either end in their beaks while the tortoise is in the centre. The Central Javanese versions also have the two geese at either end and the tortoise in the centre, but the geese hold the stick clenched in their feet. The East Javanese versions, on the other hand, have two tortoises on either end of the stick and one goose holding the middle part in its beak. In the Indian and Central javanese depictions the stick is represented in a horizontal position. In the East Javanese depictions it is rendered as slanting.

Other differences concern the number of men (two in the Mathurā, Bodh Gayā, Nālandā, and Sojiwan reliefs, and six in the Mendut relief[4]), the way they are armed (with a club or sword in the Nālandā relief, with bows in the Mendut relief, and probably with a stone in the Sojiwan relief[5]); and the number of jackals (in the Alaṃpūr, Bellagame[6], and Gambar reliefs one jackal features, and in the Jago and Panataran reliefs there are two).

Having drawn attention to the variations among these depictions I will now trace some of them in three texts, the Sanskrit Tantrākhyāyikā, the Sanskrit Tantropākhyāna, and the Old Javanese Tantri Kāmandaka, all of which are versions of the Pañcatantra.

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[4]In the Mendut and Sojiwan reliefs they seem to represent characters which are duplicated in order to figure in two moments of the story.

[5]In the Mathurā and Bodh Gayā reliefs it is unclear whether they are armed or not.

[6]In the Bellagame relief a second jackal is present, but it seems that the two jackals represent the same jackal featuring at two different moments.

Sanskrit Tantrākhyāyikā, book 1, emboxed story 11. The Sanskrit Tantrākhyāyikā is considered to be one of the oldest extant Pañcatantra versions and to be of North Indian origin. The story of the tortoise and the geese occurs as the eleventh story emboxed in the frame story of Book I. It may serve as an example of what I called the first version of the story. I would like to note here that the Pāli Kacchapa Jātaka corresponds in broad outline with this version (cf. Cowell 1973: no.215), although it is set in a different context and serves a different purpose.

Transliteration (from Hertel 1915:36-7)

Asti kasmiṃścitsarasi kambugrīvo nāma kacchapaḥ prativasati sma / tasya dvau suhṛdau vikaṭasaṃkaṭanāmānau haṃsau / atha kālaviparyaye dvādaśavārṣikyanā-vṛṣṭirāpatitā / tatastayormatirutpannā / kṣīṇatoyamidaṃ saraḥ / anyaṃ jalāśayaṃ gacchāva iti / kiṃ punaściroṣitaṃ priyamitraṃ kambugrīvamāmantrayāvahe / tathā cānuṣṭhite kacchapenābhigitau / kasmānmamāmantraṇaṃ kriyate / yadi tu sneho 'sti tato māmapyasmānmṛtyumukhāttrātumarhathaḥ / yatkāraṇam yuvayostāvadāhāravaikalyaṃ kevalamasminsvalpodake sarasi mamātra tu maraṇameva / tadvicintyatām āhārasuhṛdviyogayoḥ ko garīyān / tābhyāmabhihitam/ yuktamāttha evametat/ kiṃ punaḥ prāptakālaṃ bhavāñjānāti / avaśyaṃ nayāva āvāṃ bhavantam / tvayā punaścāpalānna kiṃcidvaktavyam / imāṃ tu yaṣṭiṃ madhye daśanairāpīḍaya evamanayaivoddhṛtya ṣaṣṭimātrāṇi yojanāni mahatsaro bhavantaṃ nayāvaḥ/ tatra sukhaṃ yāpayiṣyāma iti / evaṃ ca niṣpanne tajjalāśayasaṃnikṛṣṭanagarasyopariṣṭānnīyamānaṃ dṛṣṭvā kimidaṃ śakaṭacakrapramāṇaṃ viyatā nīyate iti janaḥ sakalakalaḥ saṃvṛttaḥ / tacca śrutvāsannavināśaḥ kacchapo yaṣṭiṃ tyaktvābhihitavān / ahaṃ kacchapaḥ / cāpalādeṣa lokaḥ pralapati / iti bruvanvacanasamakālamevāśrayāt paribhraṣṭo bhūmau nipatitaḥ māṃsārthinā ca lokena pātasamakālameva tīkṣṇaśastraiḥ khaṇḍaśo vibhakta iti /

ato 'haṃ bravīmi / mitrāṇāṃ hitakāmānāmiti / punaścāha /

Translation

A tortoise named Kambugrīva lived in a certain lake. He had two friends, two geese named Vikaṭa and Saṃkaṭa. Then, at an unfavourable turn of time a twelve year long rainless period set in. Thereupon both of them thought: "The water of this lake has diminished. Let us go to another lake. But let us say farewell to our dear friend Kambugrīva who has dwelt (with us) for a long time". And when it had thus happened the tortoise addressed them: "Why do you say goodbye to me? Pray, if you love me, please save me also from these jaws of death because for you it means only insufficiency

of food in this lake which contains very little water, but for me it means death. You should consider this. Which of the two is worse: being without food or being without friends?" The two of them said: "You have spoken properly, you are right. But do you know the right time? By all means let us take you away. However, you should not out of forgetfulness say anything. Set your teeth in the middle of this stick. After we have thus raised you with its help as it were, we will carry you all the 60 yojanas to a large lake. There we will live happily". When this was done and the people saw him being carried over a city near that lake, they all approached talking in confusion: "What is this that has the size of a wheel of a carriage and is being carried through the air?" And after he had heard that, the tortoise whose end had approached let go of the stick and said: "I am a tortoise; out of thoughtlessness the people here talk rubbish". At the same time, while he was saying these words, he dropped off the thing that held him and fell on the ground, and as soon as he had landed, the people who were longing for meat divided him into pieces with sharp knives. Therefore I say: of friends who wish for the good etc. (end of the translation).

The protagonists are one tortoise, two geese, and a number of men. The tortoise is said to bite on the middle of a stick. These elements are found in the North Indian and Central Javanese reliefs. It is not, however, explicitly stated where and how the geese hold the stick which may have resulted in different interpretations when rendering the event visually. In the North Indian reliefs they hold the stick on either end in their beaks, while in the Central Javanese reliefs they hold it clenched in their feet. In the text it is said that the men divide the tortoise into pieces with sharp knives. The North Indian and Central Javanese depictions reflect some of this information. In the Mathurā relief the attitude of the men clearly seems to indicate that they are about to attack the tortoise, although the weapons which they carry are no longer visible. In the Nālandā relief one men is armed with a club or sword, in the Mendut relief they are armed with bows, and in the Sojiwan relief presumably with a stone.

It would probably seem more appropriate to relate these reliefs, which are found in a Buddhist context, to the version of the story contained in the Pāli Jātaka, but when comparing the written versions of the story with the information contained in the reliefs, it appears that the Pañcatantra story fits the reliefs better. In the Pāli Jātaka the tortoise falls in the courtyard of a palace, and it is not said to be attacked by the men who see it flying through the air (cf. Cowell 1973: no.215).

Sanskrit Tantropākhyāna, book I, emboxed story 3. The Sanskrit Tantropākhyāna is the only Sanskrit Pañcatantra version, as far as I know, that contains the story of the tortoise and the geese in the version that presents jackals instead of men. It is extant in only one manuscript in Malayālam script and has been edited in Devanāgari script in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (śāstri 1938). The manuscript is kept in the Kerala University Oriental Manuscripts Library in Trivandrum and contains a date corresponding to A.D. 1701 (Artola 1957:188-89, 220-5), which refers to the time when it was copied from an older manuscript, now lost, or in any case unknown. An older form of this Sanskrit text seems to have served as a source of inspiration for a Tamil, Thai, Laotian, and Old Javanese Pañcatantra version (see also Klokke 1990:32-67). The story of the tortoise and the geese occurs in these texts except for the Thai one as the third story emboxed in the first book called Nandakaprakaraṇa.

Transliteration (from Śāstrī 1938:6)

Asti khalu mahatyaṭavyantare vipulavistīrṇa saraḥ / tasmin sarasi mānasavāsino haṃsāḥ kenāpi kacchapena saha prativasanti sma / atha kadācit saro grīṣmakāle svalpodakamabhūt / tasmin prativasitumaśaknuvanto haṃsāḥ saraśsoṣaduḥkhitam paramamitraṃ caramavayaḥprāptamūcuh / mānasoṣitairasmābhirbhavatsauhṛdāc-ciramatroṣitam / idamapi śuṣkaṃ paṅkāvaśeṣamabhūt saraḥ / tato vayaṃ mānasaṃ saraḥ pratiyāsyāmaḥ / tvayāsmadanukampayāsmābhiḥ sahāgamyatām / kenāpyupāyāntareṇa bhavantamādāya gantuṃ samarthā iti / evaṃ śrutvā kacchapo'pi bhavadbhiḥ sahāgamiṣyāmīti prāha / tvayaitat kāṣṭhamadhyaṃ daṣṭvā sthātavyam / asmābhiḥ kāṣṭhakoṭidvayaṃ daṣṭvā netavyamiti / kenāpai(na?) tvaṃ pṛṣṭaḥ prativacanaṃ mā dehītyupadiśya tathā khamutpetuḥ / atha kaścit kroṣṭā bhāryayā saha badaraphalāni khādannāsīna ākāśe nīyamānaṃ kacchapamālokya vihasyaivam abravit: bhadre! paśya bhinnajāṭiyairdeśāntaravāsibhiḥ paravañcanāpaṭīyobhirniyamānaṃ kacchapamūrkhamiti / tacchrutvā kacchapo'tyantaroṣeṇa haṁsopadiṣṭaṃ vākyaṃ vismṛtya kiṃ te śirorogastvaṃ mūrkha iti vaktukāmo bhūmau nipapāta / patitam kacchapaṃ dṛṣṭvā drutataramāgamya bhāryayā saha bhakṣitavān kroṣṭā / tato haṃsāḥ paritrātumaśaknuvantaḥ sāśrumukhāḥ paravañcanāpaṭīyāṃsaṃ svārthasādhakamapi garhayanto niragaman / tatastamnirīkśya vasubhāgaḥ ślokamavocat: mitrānāṃ hitakāmānāṃ yo vākyaṃ nānutiṣṭhati sa kūrma iva durbuddhiḥ kāṣṭhād bhraṣṭo vinaśyati.

Translation

Now in another large forest there was an expanded and extensive lake. Geese who lived in Mānasa dwelt in that lake together with a tortoise. Then once upon a time, in the dry season, the lake had only little water left. The geese who could not stay there said to their best friend who was in trouble because of the fact that the lake was drying up and who had arrived at the last stage of life: "We, who lived in Mānasa, have stayed here for a long time out of friendship. This lake has now dried up and contains only mud. Therefore we shall return to the lake Mānasa. You, with whom we have compassion, should go with us. Through a certain remedy we can go taking you along." When the tortoise had heard thus, he said: "I shall go with you." (The geese said:) "You should keep biting in the centre of this stick. We should bite on the two ends of the stick and lead (you) away. Whoever aks you a question, don't answer it." After having given directions in this way, they flew into the air. Then, while chewing on the fruits of a Jujube tree, a jackal with his wife saw that a tortoise was being carried through the air, he began to laugh and said: "Love, look at that crazy tortoise who is being carried by those who belong to another caste, live in another area, and are very smart in deceiving the other." When the tortoise had heard that, through anger he forgot the words taught by the geese and fell to the ground because he wished to say: "Are you sick in the head? You are crazy!" The jackal saw that the tortoise had fallen, quickened his pace and together with his wife ate him. The geese could not rescue him and with tear-stained faces they went away reproaching the tortoise who was very smart in deceiving the other and was promoting his own interest. When thereupon Vasubhāga saw it he spoke this verse: He, who does not follow the advice of his friends who desire his well-being, will perish like the tortoise Durbuddhi who fell from the stick. (end of the translation.)

The South Indian and East Javanese reliefs can partly be related to this South Indian textual version. The protagonists are the same—tortoises, geese, and jackals—but their number differs. In the text there are two geese, one tortoise, and two jackals, in the South Indian reliefs there are also two geese and one tortoise, but only one jackal. And in the East Javanese reliefs there are two jackals, but one goose, instead of two, and two tortoises instead of one. As in the text the tortoises and geese bite on the stick. The South Indian reliefs have the tortoise in the middle and the geese on either ends as in the text. The East Javanese reliefs, on the other hand, have one goose in the centre and two tortoises on the outer ends. In the text the jackals seize the tortoise(s) when it has (or they have) fallen. This can be seen both in the South Indian and East Javanese reliefs.

Old Javanese Tantri Kāmandaka, emboxed story 3. The Old Javanese Tantri Kāmandaka is a Pañcatantra version which has been known to European scholars since 1859 (Bloemen Waanders 1859:150-4) and which had puzzled them for almost 100 years because it showed marked deviations from the Indian Pañcatantra versions known at that time. It was only when Artola rediscovered the Sanskrit Tantropākhyāna in 1957 (Artola 1957) that the pieces of the puzzle could be put together, for it was clear that this text had, in an older form, served as a modal for the Old Javanese text, as well as for a Tamil, a Thai, and Laotian Pañcatantra text. The close relationship of the Old Javanese Tantri Kāmandaka and the Sanskrit Tantropākhyāna can be exemplified by the story of the tortoise of the geese. Certain elements are common to both texts whereas they do not occur in other Sanskrit Pañcatantra texts, for instance the fact that in both texts jackals figure instead of men, that the (male) tortoise has the same name in both texts, that the geese are in both texts said to have come from Mānasa(sara) and wish to return to that place, and that the śloka is attributed to Vasubhāga.

The Old Javanese Tantri Kāmandaka is extant in two slightly different versions (Klokke 1990:32-67). I have used both for the transliteration and translation of the story of the tortoise and the geese. The one is represented by Or. 4533 among others, the other only by Or. 18.673. They display numerous variations in detail such as spelling and variant words. I will start from Or. 4533, and refer to Or. 18.673 only in the case of more pronounced differences. Additions or corrections made by myself either on the grounds of alternative readings in Or. 18.673 or on the grounds of the context have been placed in between brackets. Superfluous letters in the manuscript that do not make sense have been placed between parentheses.

Transliteration from Or.4533 (in comparison with Or.18.673)

#ana ta ya pas / munggwing talaga kumudawati / ramya ikang talaga / akweh tuñjungnya anekawarṇa / hana śweta / rakta / mwang nīla / pangkaja / hana ta hangsa lakistrī / masabhā rikang talaga kumudawati / panangkan ikang wwai / sangka ring talaga māna[sa] sara / kunang ngaran ikang hangsa [...] / si cakranggi haran i hangsa wadon# (from # to # only contained in Or. 4533) / ya tekā same munggwing talaga kumudawati [/] malawas pwa ya (/) masamitra lāwan sa[ng] pas / mangaran si durbuddhi kang lanang / si kacapa kang wadon / kunang meh lahrūmāsa / sangsayāsat wwai (kui?) nikang talaga kumudawati / mamwit ikang hangsa mangaran si canggi [Or. 18.673: cakrangga] / pi[=si] cakranggi / ring mitranya pas mangaran si durbuddhi / mwang si kacapa / kunang lingnya / mitra [ng]hulun mamwita wiśāta / ha[n]tén ta[=la]yata mami

sakingke / mawan [=mapan] sangsayāsan[=t] tika mangke wwai nikang talaga kumudawati / athawi mangaĕpakĕn lahrumāsa / tan kawaśa nghulun yan madoha wwe / nimitta ni nghulun mahyun layata / umungsī talaga himawān / parwata ngkāna / ri mānasa[ng]sara ngaranya / mahāpawitra ikā / wwenya mahni[ng] adalĕm / tan masat yan lahrūmāsa / ri kana paran i n[g]hulun mitra / mangkana ling nikang hangsa / sumahur ikang pas / lingnya / uḍuh mitra / lukan paḍa sinanmatanta ri nghulun / mahyun matinggala ri nghulun / mamrih ahurip ta prihawak / apan paḍa nghulun lāwan kita / tan wĕnang ma[do]he lāwan wwai / saparanta mami tumuta / ri sukhaduhkhanta / makaphala ning ngwang samitra lāwan kita / # wĕnang parasparo[sna]-upāśraya / ring ayu silih sumbang / mangkana ling ikang pas / mojar ikang ng[=h]angsa / aum singgih ikang sang durbuddhi / uḍa [=uḍū?] sinanghulun amitra ri kita / saka ri tan wĕnang salaku sel(o)wan lawan mami / reh mami mabér[=mibér] apitowi adoh ikang talaga manasasara sakingke / hélétnya jurang gunung / tanpengan / ring apa ta kita wĕnang umalintangeri t[e]ka / ya hetungku tuminggale kita / pahalawö manahta / nahan ling ning ng[=h]angsa / sumahur ikang pas / tulusakĕna sihta mitrengku kami / pakirekirekĕnta sādhanan mami raheriki / tan sahe kita / # (from # to # only in Or. 18.673) / sumahur ikang hangsa / aum sang pas / hana kira-kira ni nghulun. Haneki kayu sahutĕn denta / ri tĕngahnya / mami sumahuta ri tungasnya / sana-sini lāwan swāmī nin nghulun/ (ka) kawaśa mĕne de ni nghulun umibĕr-akĕneri kita / haywā ta wiyang denta manahut / ngūniweh haywāngucap-ucap / salwir ning katungkulan # yadin sakaton sakarĕngö haywa (n)uni nghang(=mwang?) hĕnĕng juga ya# (from # to # only in Or. 18.673) / mĕne yan wwang umibĕrakĕn iri kita / haywa juga inaruhan denta / hana atakwana haywā juga sinahuran yeki ulahanta / haywa ta tanpāmintuhu wuwus mami / kunang kita yan tanpāmintuhu warah mami / tan siddha kita tĕkeng dwan / mapuputan pati / mangkana ling nikang hangsa / #amituhu ikang é[m]pas / # (from # to # only in Or. 18.673) ya ta sinahut tĕngah ikang kayu de nikang pas / tu[ng]tung (ng)ikang kayu / mwang bungkahnya / cinucuk de nikang hangsa / sanasini jalw istri / kānan-keri / mogāmĕr winawa de ning hangsa / umahasa ring talaga manasasara / ri iṣṭaprāyanya / huwus madoh ulihnyāmér / ḍatang pwa ya ri ruhur ikang tĕgal wilanggāla [Or. 18.673: Wilajanggala] / ana pwa ya śona salakistrī / manghéb ni sor ni tahĕn mangśa [=mangga?; Or. 18.673 has: maja] / mangaran si nohan ikang śwāna lanang / si babyan ikang wadon / #manon ta ya gagak tumrap i lĕmah binurunya ta ya / mör tang gagak / # (from # to # only in Or. 18.673) ya ta tuminghah[=tuminghal] ikang śwāna / umula [ti] rikang hangsāmĕr / kalih sama ibĕribĕrakĕn pas / kunang ling nikang śwāna / he sang bapanyānak i nghulun / tinghal ikang wastw asambhawa / ikang pasingib-

ĕrakĕn[=inibĕrakĕn] ikang hangsa / salakib[in]ya / sumahur ikang śwāna lanang / asambhawa dahat lingta / ring kapana tang pas kawaśa amöra [Or. 18.763: inibĕrakĕn] de nikang hangsa / dudū ikang pas / tahi ning wṛṣabhāking (ng)ika / parumahan ing kutis / ulih-ulihanyeng putra ning hangsa / kalinganya mangkana lingnya si babyan / mwang si nohan / karĕngö pwa wuwus ning śwāna de ni[ng] kang pas / krodhāmbĕknya kumĕdul tutuknya / denya sinanggah tahi ning kĕbwāking [=kébo aking: Or. 18.673 has: wṛṣabhāking] / parumahan ing kutis / wahu mahang [Or. 18.673: mangang] tutuknya pwa ya ikang pas / uwak tekang kayu / sinahutnya / tiba ikang pas ring kṣititala / linūd ika pinangan de ning śṛgāla salakistrīnya / ikang hangsa (kari) ke[?]rangan pwa ya / tan pituhu de nika pawĕkasnya / ngūni ri pūrwaka / mati ikang pas sasomah / ikang hangsa lumaris maring [Or. 18.673 has: möring] talaga mana[sa]sara / tinon de bhagawān basuwarga [=Basubhāga; Or. 18.673: bhaśubhāgan] magawe śloka / #mitrāna hitakaryani / yo wakya nāti hiṣṭāti / kurmabandawa dhurbuddhi / kāṣṭā braṣṭā winasyati# (from # to # only in Or. 4533)//

Translation

#There were tortoises who dwelt in the lake Kumudawati. The lake was beautiful. It contained many lotuses of various colours. There were white, red, and blue lotuses. There were geese, a male and a female, who frequented the lake Kumudawati. The source of the water was the lake Mānasasara. Now the name of the geese [...]. Cakranggi was the name of the female goose.# (From # to # only in Or. 4533). These dwelt together in the lake Kumudawati. For a long time they were friends with the tortoises of whom the male was named Durbuddhi and the female Kacapa. However, when the dry season had almost come to an end, the water of the lake Kumudawati dried up more and more. The geese named Cakrangga and Cakranggi took leave of their friends the tortoises named Durbuddhi and Kacapa. And they said: "Friends, we would like to ask permission to leave. Dear ones, let us go away from here, for the water of the lake Kumudawati at present is drying up more and more. Furthermore, we are facing the dry season. We cannot bear to be far from water. Therefore we wish to go away and to try to reach the lake, there on the mountain Himawān, which is named Mānasasara. It is highly purifying. Its water is clear, deep and does not dry up in the dry season. Thither is our destination, friends." Thus were the words of the geese.[7] The [male] tortoise answered with the words: " Ah,

[7]The Old Javanese does not differentiate between a singular and a plural form. If the text does not otherwise specify the singular or plural and if it cannot be concluded from the context whether singular or plural is meant, I have translated 'hangsa' and 'pas' with 'geese' and 'tortoises' in the plural.

friends, it would be most surprising if you should equally do us a favour since you wish to leave us in order to seek a livelihood for yourself. But we are like you in that we cannot be far from water. We will follow you on all your paths, in your joy and sorrow. That is the fruit of the fact that we are friends with you. #We can lean on each other. As regards well-being we are mutually equal." Thus were the words of the tortoise. The geese said: "Yes indeed, Durbuddhi, surely we are your friends. The reason that you cannot just follow us wherever we go is that it happens that we can fly and moreover that the lake Mānasasara is far from here. In between are ravines and mountains, limitless. How would you be able to corss those? That is the reason that we will leave you. Cease worrying by yourself." Thus were the words of the geese. The tortoises answered: "Continue your love for us, friends. Let us think of a means to overcome this [situation]. We cannot be separated from you."# (From # to # only in Or. 18.673). The [male] goose replied: "Oh, tortoises, I have a plan. Here is a piece of wood. You should bite on it, in the middle. I and my wife will bite on either end. Thus we can let you fly. Do not stop biting. Certainly you should not talk. Any kind of thing below, #when you see or hear it, do not make any noise and keep quiet.# (From # to # only in Or. 18.673). Shortly, when we make you fly you should not make any enquiries. If [someone] should ask a question certainly you should not answer. That should be your conduct. Do not be heedless of our words. However, if you do not take heed of our words then you will not be successful in reaching your aim and you will end up dead. These were the words of the goose. #The tortoises agreed.# (From # to # only in Or. 18.673). The tortoises bit on the middle of the piece of wood. The geese seized with their beak the top of the piece of wood and its base, the male and female, on either end, on the left and on the right. And hence it happened that they flew, carried by the geese, in the direction of the lake Mānasasara according to their wish. When they had already flown far they came above the field Wilajanggala. Now there were dogs, a male and a female, who had sought the shade of a Mangga (Maja in Or. 18.673) tree. The male dog was named Nohan, the female Babyan. #They saw a crow sitting on the ground. When it was chased the crow flew away.# (From # to # only in Or. 18.673). Looking after it the dogs saw the geese flying together carrying the tortoises in their flight. Then the [female] dog said: "He, father of my children, look, an incredible thing. Tortoises are being carried in the air by a male and female goose." The male dog answered: "Your words are extremely incredible. How indeed would it be possible for tortoises to be carried in the air by geese. They are not tortoises. They are dried cow dung, the abode of dung-beetles, which the geese are bringing home for their children. That is their meaning." Thus were the words

of Babyan and Nohan. The tortoises heard the words of the dogs. They were furious and their mouths quivered because they were said to be dried cow dung, the abode of dung-beetles. As soon as the tortoises opened their mouths the piece of wood on which they were biting came loose and the tortoises fell on the ground. The dogs, male and female, attacked them and ate them. The geese were ashamed that their advice, formerly given, had not been heeded. When the tortoises, husband and wife, were dead, the geese went on in a straight line to the lake Mānasasara. Bhagawan Basuwargga (Bhaśubhāga in Or. 18.673=Vasubhāga) saw it and made a śloka: (.....) (end of the translation, cf. Hooykaas 1931:112-7).

This is an elaborated version of the one contained in the Sanskrit Tantropākhyāna. As I noted above it corresponds to that text in a number of respects. But there are differences too. Thus, instead of one tortoise there are two. This detail is not found in any other written version of the story. It is, however, found in the East Javanese reliefs, so that in this case the Old Javanese text and East Javanese reliefs correspond. In other respects they do not correspond, for in the East Javanese reliefs only one goose plays a role instead of two geese and the goose holds the middle part of the stick and the tortoises either end, which deviates from the Old Javanese version and all other written versions. Correspondence is again found in the fact that the Old Javanese version ends with telling that the geese fly on, which is also reflected in the East Javanese reliefs at Jago and Panataran (figs. 8 and 11), where the goose is seen flying on, while the jackals seize the tortoises.

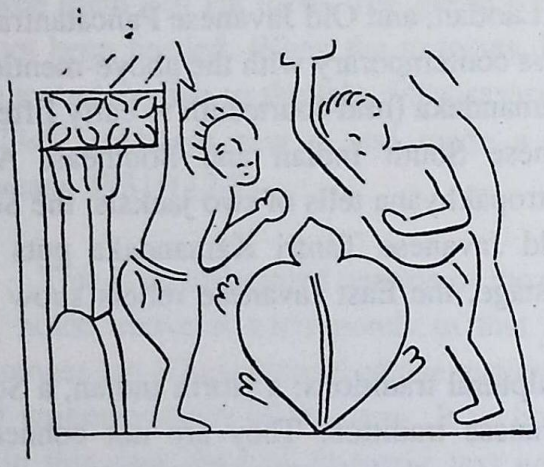
Conclusions. The story of the tortoise and the geese seems to be of North Indian origin. North Indian depictions are known from c. the 2nd to 3rd centuries (Mathurā), from c. 500 (Bodh Gayā) and from the 9th century (Nālandā). The Central Javanese reliefs correspond with this North Indian tradition. It seems, however, that they were not copied directly from Indian visual representations, for they show the geese carrying the stick in their feet instead of in their beaks as is the case in the Indian sculptural tradition. It is, on the other hand, possible that the Central Javanese reliefs were based on a written or oral tradition, for the earliest North Indian versions of the story do not mention how exactly the geese carried the stick, thus leaving it to the imagination of the sculptor.

The earliest South Indian representations date, as far as I know, from c. the seventh century. Only one of them is known to me in the form of a photograph (fig.4; Sarma 1972.pl.131). It shows a different version of the story, one in which a jackal

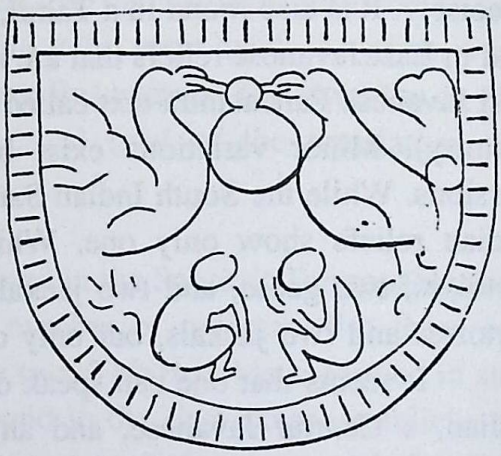
features instead of men. A later South Indian illustration of this story from Bellagame dating from c. the twelfth to mid-fourteenth century displays the same version. In written form it is found in the South Indian Sanskrit Tantropākhyāna which is known only from one manuscript and seems to be a rather late text, although its date is not known precisely. It is also found in a Tamil, a Thai, a Laotian, and Old Javanese Pañcatantra text and in East Javanese reliefs that are more or less contemporary with the above-mentioned Old Javanese Pañcatantra text called Tantri Kāmandaka (mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth century). Minor variations exist between these South Indian and Southeast Asian versions. While the South Indian Sanskrit Tantropākhyāna tells of two jackals, the South Indian reliefs show only one. While the Old Javanese Tantri Kāmandaka puts two tortoises, two geese, and two jackals on the stage, the East Javanese reliefs show two tortoises and two jackals, but only one goose.

It seems that one can speak of four sculptural traditions: a North Indian, a South Indian, a Central Javanese, and an East Javanese tradition. They are not connected directly with one another. It is only through the mediation of a North Indian textual tradition that the North Indian and Central Javanese sculptural traditions are connected. Similarly it is through the mediation of a South Indian textual tradition that the South Indian and East Javanese sculptural traditions are related.

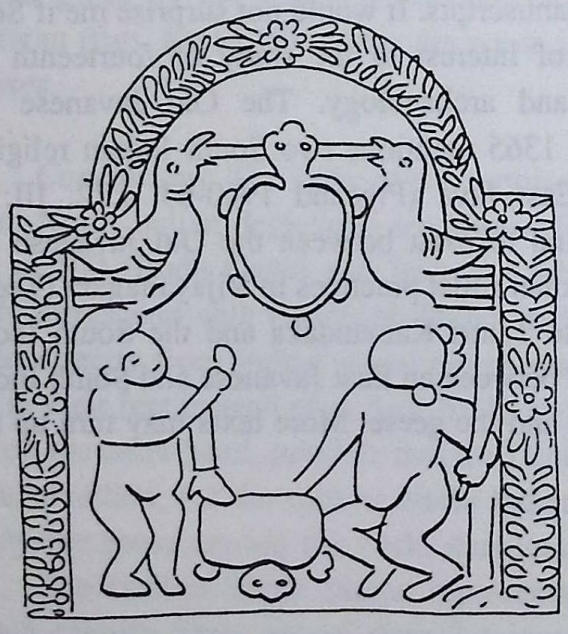
Finally, I would like to conclude with expressing the hope that more research will be undertaken in the study of South Indian manuscripts. It would not surprise me if South India could provide more material that is of interest to the study of fourteenth and fifteenth century Old Javanese literature and archaeology. The Old Javanese text Nāgarakṛtāgama which was written in A.D. 1365 mentions two South Indian religious men who visited the Majapahit court in East Java (Pigeaud 1960-63, I:72; III:11). Furthermore, a relationship was already found to exist between the Old Javanese text śiwarātrikalpa and fifteenth century South Indian ritual practices in Vijayanagara (Teeuw et al. 1969:19-26), between the Old Javanese Tantri Kāmandaka and the South Indian Sanskrit Tantropākhyāna, and closely related, between an East Javanese and South Indian tradition of depicting the story of the tortoise and the geese. More texts may turn up that can make the picture clearer.



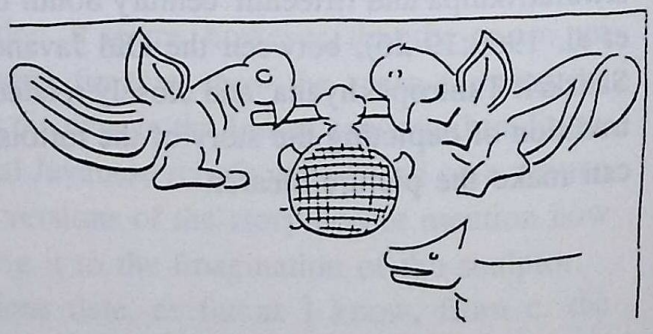
1. Mathurā 2nd to 3rd centuries, after Vogel 1909: fig.32 and Agrawala 1966: pl.8



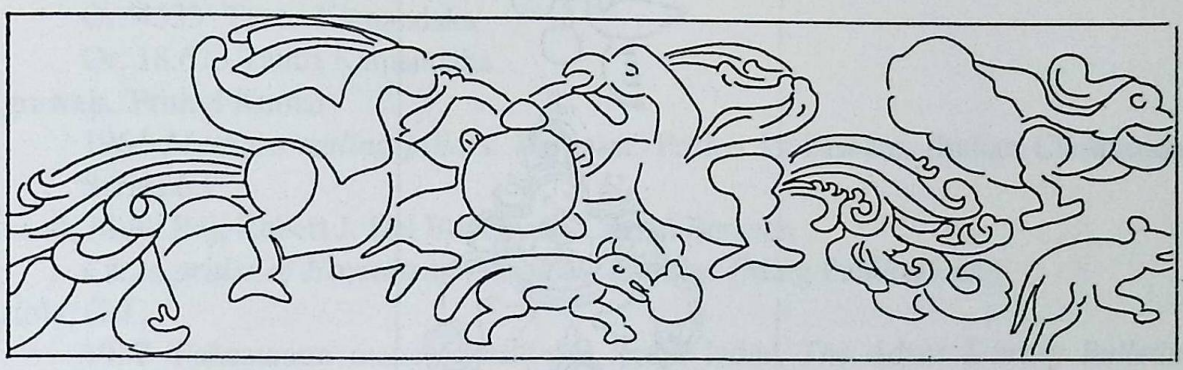
2. Bodh Gayā c. 500, after Williams 1982: pl.237



3. Nālandā c. 9th century, after Deva and Agrawala 1950: fig.3



4. Alaṃpūr 7th to 8th centuries, after Sarma 1972: pl.131



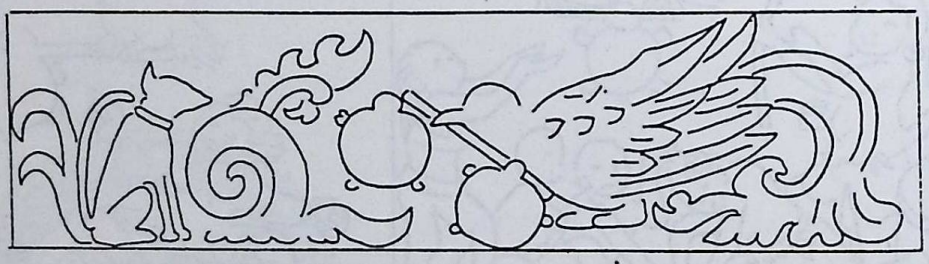
5. Bellagame c. 12th to mid-14th centuries, after Anand et al. s.a.: pl.18

6. Candi Mendut, c. 800,
after author's photograph

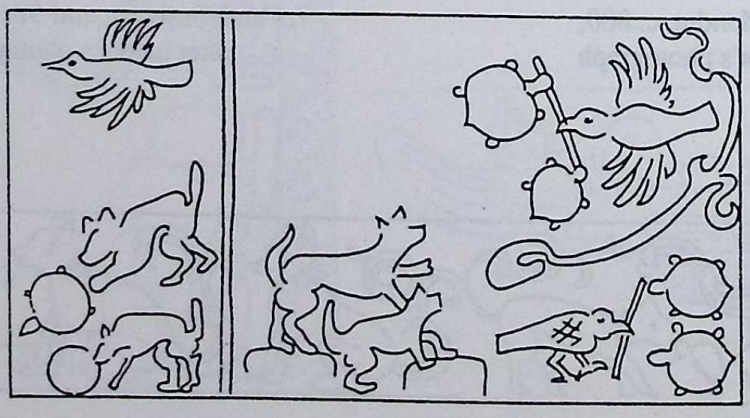
7. Candi Sojiwan, mid-9th century,
after author's photograph

8.Candi Jago, mid-14th century, after author's photograph

9.Panataran, rear side of a dwārapāla statue, c. 1347, after author's photograph



10.Candi Gambar, late 14th century, drawn at the site



11.Panataran, bathing-place, A.D. 1415, after author's photograph

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THE CULT OF ŚIVA-BUDDHA

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It is interesting to know the development of both these sects, Śiva and Buddha, in Indonesia that combined to give rise to the cult of Śiva-Buddha. Right from the beginning, when Buddhism was introduced in Indonesia, it came in close contact with existing Śaivism. Gradually the doctrines of these sects came to be united. This is most obvious during the period of East-Java. In order to understand this development of the Śiva-Buddha cult we have to trace back the changes taking place in the land of their origin. The fundamental similarities in the theories of manifestation of both these sects is responsible for giving rise to the Śiva-Buddha cult. Let us treat briefly the theory of manifestation in Śaiva-Siddhānta.

In Śaiva-Siddhānta[1] there are three tattvas (realities), viz., Śiva-tattva, Sadāśiva-tattva, and Maheśa-tattva. These tattvas are said to be of the nature of Niṣkala, Sakala-niṣkala and Sakala respectively. Here we take the word kalā in the sense of limbs or forms and not in other meaning of members. Thus Niṣkala means without form and this aspect is attributed to the Śiva-tattva. Śiva in his highest state is without form or limbs or in a state of undifferentiated formless entity. It is in this state that all created forms of corporeality merge their bodies in the Primeval Cause, which is a state of peace that passeth understanding. Again, in this state the Supreme Being is without beginning or end, pervading the universe, eternal, incomparable, subtle. This is what we understand by the nature of Niṣkala. But in His boundless mercy wills, small parts of his self, emerge out of Him, five Śaktis.

The first Śakti is the parā-Śakti, sometimes also called Śantyātīta-Śakti. The second is the Ādi-Śakti or the Śānti-Śakti. The third is the Icchā-Śakti or the Vidyā-Śakti. The fourth is the Jñāna-Śakti or Pratiṣṭhā-Śakti and the last one, the fifth, is the Kriyā-Śakti or Nirvṛtti-Śakti. Now each of these five Śaktis has a particular function towards the soul. The nearest to us and which makes for a conscious enjoyment of our Karma is

[1]Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II/II.361, etc. He has treated in detail, the philosophy of Śuddha-Śaiva school of Śaivism according to the Vātūlaśuddhagama.

the Kriyā-Śakti. Because of its function in creating the feeling of conciousness in our souls it is also called the Nirvṛtti-Śakti. Besides the Kriyā-Śakti there is the Jñāna-Śakti which is responsible for raising the soul to her real nature. In other words, this Śakti guides the soul to a place, where a state of ultimate peace prevails, the end of all human destiny. Because of this function of Jñāna-Śakti, it is also called the Pratiṣṭhā-Śakti. Now in the process of going upwards the soul will reach a certain state where she is conscious of her real nature and then she is able to understand māyā and related existences. While in this state the souls knows her real nature, which is pure and free from the bondage which is caused by the māyā and the existences therefrom. The Śakti which is responsible for bringing the soul to this direction is the Icchā-Śakti. Therefore the other name of Icchā-Śakti is Vidyā-Śakti. The freedom of the soul from all bondages implies that a complete destruction of mala, māyā and karma has taken place. The destruction of these three forms of bondage paves the way to the state of peace. Because of this function of destroying the tattvas, which obstruct the soul from knowing her real nature, the Śakti responsible for it, the Ādi-Śakti, is called Śānti-Śakti. Here, the soul reaches her ultimate destination and will experience, the Sat-Cid-Ānanda svarūpa of the Supreme through the Parā-Śakti. This function of Parā-Śakti explains why it is also called the Śāntyātīta-Śakti. These are the functions of the five Śaktis which emerge from the Self of the Supreme Being, in His aspect of Niṣkala.

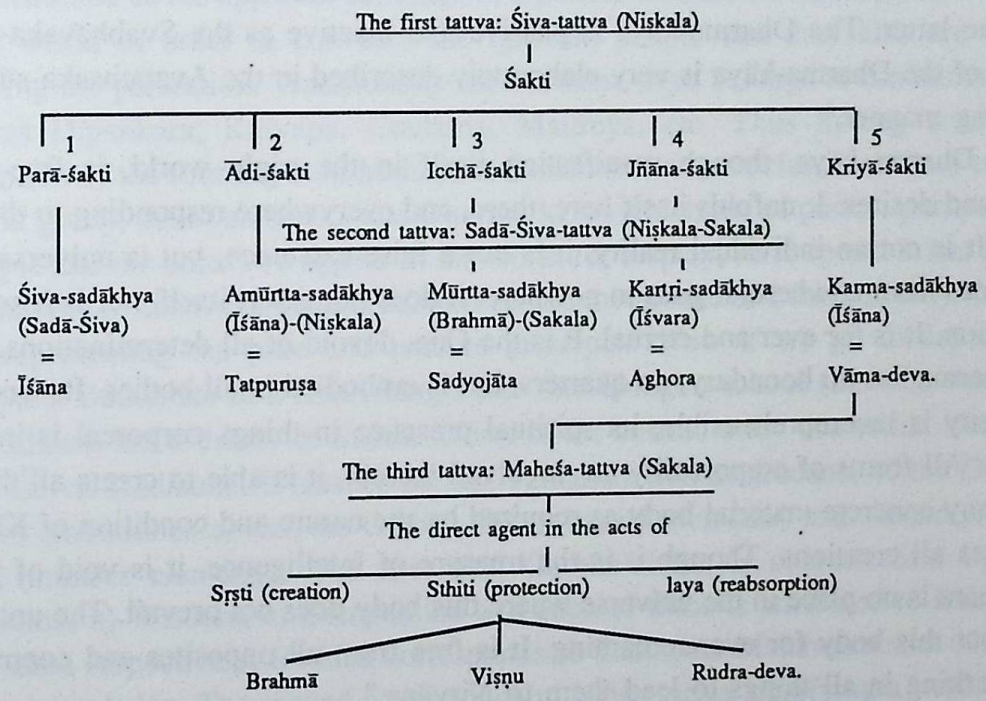
We now come to the second aspect of the Supreme Being in his Sakala-niṣkala form. Here we have the five Sadāśiva-tattvas which emerge from the five Śaktis discussed above. The process begins from the Parā-Śakti downwards. Thus from Parā-Śakti emerges Sadā-Śiva (Śiva-sādākhya). This Sadā-Śiva is also called Śiva because it is born from Parā-Śakti and hence pure in nature. It pervades the universe as a subtle divine light and is bright as the lightning. From Ādi-Śakti comes the second manifestation in the form of the second Sadā-Śiva-tattva also called by the name Īśāna. It is considered as niṣkala (amūrtattva) because it originates from Ādi-Śakti which is formless in nature. The third manifestation comes from Icchā-Śakti. This is the third Sadā-Śiva also known by the name of Brahmā. The third tattva, Brahmā, is considered to be with a form and is called by the name Mūrtta. Thus it is in his Sakala nature.

The fourth Sadā-Śiva-tattva comes from the Jñāna-Śakti and is named Īśvara. Then we come to the last, the fifth Sadā-Śiva-tattva which is the product of Kriyā-Śakti. This tattva is called the Karma-sadākhya and also known as Īśāna. These five aspects of the Supreme which are the manifestations of the five Śaktis of the Supreme in His Niṣkala form, the five Sadākhyas are commonly known as Vāmadēva for Īśa, Tatpuruṣa

for Īśāna, Aghora for Īśvara, Sadyojāta for Brahmā and Īśāna for Sadā-Śiva. The five deities face the North, East, South, West and top respectively. Each one of these tattvas is dependent on its immediate predecessor. Thus we have discussed the second stage of the manifestation of the Supreme in his Niṣkala-Sakala form.

The last tattva, the third, in the system of Śaiva-Siddhānta is Maheśa, which is the Sakala form. It emerges from the part of Karmēśa and is called Maheśamūrti. It is directly connected with the three world processes, viz. Sṛṣṭi (creation), Sthiti (protection), and Laya (destruction). For this reason it is endowed with Sakala form. It is from this tattva, Maheśvara, that Rudradeva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā come in to existence.

This is, in short, the philosophy of manifestation in the Śaiva-Siddhānta. For the sake of clarity we present it in a chart:



Buddhism. After this brief review of Śaiva-Siddhānta we now turn our attention to Buddhism. Of the two schools of Buddhism, viz. Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, the latter is more to our purpose. For it is this that has influenced Indonesia. Unlike the Hīnayānist, the Mahāyānist believes in the docetic conception of the personality of Buddha. The Hīnayānist on the other hand treats the life and activities of Śākyamuni only as a historical personage. With the Mahāyānist, Buddha is the ultimate principle of cosmic unity. This highest ultimate principle now is usually attributed with four aspects. These

are known as the kāyas of the Buddha. The aspects are: The Svabhāvaka-kāya, Dharma-kāya, Sambhoga-kāya and Nirmāṇa-kāya.

The Svabhāvaka-kāya is pure consciousness, purged off of all impurities of subject-ivity and objectivity, passive, inactive, pervading the universe, the cosmic unity of infinite wisdom and merit, possessing universal compassion, the inner principle of all Dharmas. Such is the nature of the Svabhāvaka-kāya and this is identified with the Buddha.

The second kāya is the Dharma-kāya. First we have to understand the usage of the word Dharma in the Mahāyāna. It is used in the sense of entity. Thus Dharma-kāya here indicates the "That-ness", "tathatā-rūpa", of the entities. To be more clear, it is the Dharma-dhātu or the primordial element underlying all that exists. If we compare it with the Svabhāvaka-kāya, there is not much difference and in a sense the former one is the origin of the latter. The Dharma-kāya is passive and inactive as the Svabhāvaka-kāya. The nature of the Dharma-kāya is very elaborately described in the Avataṁsaka-sūtra in the following manner.[2]

"The Dharma-kāya, though manifesting itself in the triple world, is free from impurities and desires. It unfolds itself here, there, and everywhere responding to the call of Karma. It is not an individual reality, it is not a false existence, but is universal and pure. It comes from nowhere, it goes to nowhere: it does not assert itself, nor is it subject to annihilation. It is for ever and eternal. It is the One, devoid of all determinations. This body of Dharma has no boundary, no quarters, but is embodied in all bodies. Its freedom or spontaneity is incomprehensible, its spiritual presence in things corporeal is incom-prehensible. All forms of corporeality are involved therein, it is able to create all things. Assuming any concrete material body as required by the nature and condition of Karma, it illuminates all creations. Though it is the treasure of intelligence, it is void of parti-cularity. There is no place in the universe where this body does not prevail. The universe becomes, but this body for ever remaining. It is free from all opposites and contraries, yet it is working in all things to lead them to Nirvāṇa."

The third Kāya is the Sambhoga-kāya which is generally called the "body of bliss". This is the personified body of the Dharma-kāya, very subtle, and manifests itself in the various conditions of bliss in the superhuman beings who teach the wisdom to the people. In the Śata-sāhasrikā and the Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā it is described as [3]"an exceedingly

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[2]Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp.223-224.

[3]S.B. Das Gupta, *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p.13.

refulgent body, from every pore of which streamed forth countless brilliant rays of light, illuminating the loka-dhātus as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges. When this body stretched out its tongue, innumerable rays of light issued forth from it and on each ray of light was found a lotus of thousand petals on which was seated a Tathāgata-vigraha (an image of the Tathāgata, a sort of Nirmāṇa-kāya), preaching to Bodhisattvas, Gṛhasthas (householders), Pravrajitas (recluses) and others the dharma consisting of the six pāramitās."

Now we come to the last kāya, the Nirmāṇa-kāya. When the Sambhoga-kāya appears in the world, then it does so in the active figure, the Nirmāṇa-kāya. "The historical personage of the Buddha is the Nirmāṇa-kāya or the Body of Transformation." It is considered as the incarnation of the eternal Tathāgata. So all His life and teaching are considered as the apparent activities of a phantom of the Buddha-kāya. It does appear in the world in order to convince the ignorant people that they also are capable of obtaining the perfection. Traditionally the Nirmāṇa-kāya belongs to the human Buddhas such as Dīpaṅkara, Kāśyapa, Gautama, Maitreya, etc. Thus having considered the conception of the four kāyas in Mahāyāna Buddhism, we can class them into two groups, the first group, the Svabhāvaka and Dharma-kāya, which are of perfect purity, passive in principle and the other two appear in the world for display, so to speak. It has to be noted here that the Svabhāvaka-kāya is sometimes not mentioned and there is only the Dharma-kāya representing the pure and passive principle.[4] Now if we go to Japan, we find Mahāyāna Buddhism in a flourishing state. The Shingon school (the true word school)[5] of Buddhism has a theory of manifestation of the cosmic unity somewhat similar to that of the Śaiva-Siddhānta. It teaches us that Tathāgata Mahāvairocana, of the Dharmakāya has two embodiments, viz., the Garbha-dhātu (matrix elements) and secondly, the Vajra-dhātu (thunder elements). The first one, Garbha-dhātu, is characterized by a) Great meditation, b) Wisdom, c) Compassion and each of these is attributed to Buddha, Vajra and Padma respectively. Buddha corresponds to Tathāgata-Mahāvairocana who signifies perfect knowledge. The second corresponds to Vajra-sattva signifying a wisdom, firm in nature and destroyer of all passions. The third corresponds to Avalokiteśvara signifying the pure thought of the interior of living beings.

The second dhātu, the Vajra-dhātu (thunder elements), has five aspects, three of which include the three classes just mentioned in the Garbha-dhātu and the other two are

[4]S.B. Das Gupta, *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p.13.
[5]J. Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, pp.142-152.

Ratnānubhāva and Karmānubhāva. The nature of the Ratnānubhāva is to reveal the truth and liberated perfection of Buddha without limitation. The fifth, Karmānubhāva shows the accomplishment of the whole work.

K.J. Saunders commenting on Japanese Buddhism says:[6] ..... ".... The Vajra-dhātu Kongōkai) or"diamond element" at once unbreakable, and able to cut through the obstacles of passion. The second Garbha-dhātu, which is like a womb producing and containing the seeds of all beings. The former is wisdom, the latter reason; the former can destroy passion in one's self; the latter, inseparable from it, is essential to the salvation of others. The former is the ideal, or potential, aspect of the universal life, revealed as Vairocana or Dainichi, the Great Sun; the latter is the dynamic aspect of the universal life; and both are represented pictorially, for arts is philosophy made concrete. In the Vajra Dhātu Mandara Dainichi is seated as a central sun in contemplation, which is typified by a white disk. In the Garbha-dhātu Mandara he is enthroned an the heart of an eight-leaved lotus, and his double halo of red typifies activity. In the former he is surrounded by various "emanations" all in white disk; in the latter by various powers or activities personified as deities with red haloes. Both aspects, potential and dynamic, reveal the life of this cosmic being, whose "emanations" and powers embody his inexhaustible goodness. Transcendent, he is also immanent in the phenomenal world. By mystic rites, by mudrā and mantra, the worshipper identifies himself with this source of his being and makes dynamic what before has been potential."

Thus Shingon Buddhism teaches us the eight-fold embodiment of the Ādibuddha Mahāvairocana (Dainichi Nyorai) viz., five of the Vajra-dhātu and three of the Garbha-dhātu. But in both of these groups Mahāvairocana shows himself as the most important one.

The descriptions of the two dhātus gives us an idea of their potential and dynamic character. The Vajra-dhātu, according to descriptions, is immutable, and is the tathatā element, static and potential, and thus belongs to the Dharma-kāya.

The second dhātu, the Garbha-dhātu, which consists of Buddha (Mahāvairocana), Vajrasattva (Vajra), Avalokiteśvara (Padma class), is the dynamic aspect of the truth. There is a little difficulty here, if we want to know to which kayās these members of the Garba-dhātu belong. Shingon Buddhism informs us that Garbha-dhātu consists of the *essence of the three classes,* and is *like a womb producing and containing the seeds of all beings*. Regarding the first member we have no difficulty in placing Buddha in the

[6] Saunders, *Epochs in Buddhist History*, pp.163-191.

Dharma-kāya as head of the tathāgatas. In Nepalese theistic Buddhism it says[7]: "The historic Buddha is now, in a word, the representative of a first cause, unoriginated, self-existing Svayambhū;..... He is never seen. He is in Nirvāṇa. Nevertheless, He is pure light, he issues from the void (śūnyatā) and his names are innumerable. By his contemplative power (dhyāna) he produces five Jinas, or Dhyāni-Buddhas: Vairocana, the brilliant; Akṣobhya, the imperturbable; Ratnāsambhāva, the jewel-born; Amoghasiddhi, sure success; and Amitābha, endless light; they are creators of corporeal forms (skandhas).....".

If we consider the position of Vajra-sattva, we do not feel very sure about it. Shingon Buddhism says that the Garbha-dhātu consists of the essence of the three classes, and is dynamic, Vajrasattva here is the symbol of Wisdom. From this we can perhaps draw the conclusion that what is meant by three classes is actually the three kāyas. In that case, Vajrasattva is the essence of all the deities in the Sambhoga-kāya. (Most probably this inference is correct, if we compare it with the Śaiva-Siddhānta, which has the same system of building up its theology.) The doubt recurs only because in Nepalese Buddhism[8], Vajrasattva is considered at least by the Vajrācāryas as the Purohita of the five Dhyānibuddha's. In that case he is in the Dharma-kāya. But this can be ignored if we think of its transcendental character. Sometimes in Nepal, according to one Dhyāna he is represented as bearing the effigy of Akṣobhya on the crown. This sign makes some people think of him as an emanation of Akṣobhya, as another form of Vajrapāṇi. But in general the Buddhist regards him as one of the highest among the Buddhist pantheon. Thus Vajrasattva is considered as one of the Buddhas.

With the third member of the Garbha-dhātu we do not have any difficulty. That Avalokiteśvara belongs to the Nirmāṇa-kāya is clear from the following accounts. If by the essence of the three classes as mentioned above, Shingon Buddhism meant the three kāyas, then Avalokiteśvara belongs to Nirmāṇakāya. In Nepalese Buddhism we have the same view. Saunders[9] says: "The Śākyamuni is the reflex of Avalokiteśvara, who is the Dhyāni-Boddhisattva of Amitābha, in whom the invisible Ādi-Buddha is revealed."

Our propositions finds some ground in that; sometimes we find mention of the identity of Samantabhadra, the Bodhisattva of Vairocana, with Ādi-Buddha.[10] This

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[7]K.J. Saunders, *Epochs in Buddhist History*, p.194; see also N.N.V. Prācyavidyāmahārṇava, pp.94-96/ Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa.

[8]Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p.6.

[9] Saunders, *Epochs in Buddhist History*, p.194.

[10]P.H. Pott, *Yoga and Yantra*, p.123.

identification took place most probably on the consideration that the essence of Ādi-Buddha is also to be found in Samantabhadra. Thus from this consideration Samanta-Buddha is also a Buddha in essence. So also is the case with Avalokiteśvara.

We have briefly dealt with Mantra Buddhism of Japan (Shingon) and that of Nepal, because of the similarity between this and Indonesian Buddhism.

If we compare now the form of Buddhism just treated with the system of the cosmology of the Śaiva-Siddhānta we will find that both of them have the same basis. In the Śaiva-Siddhānta we have the triune Paramaśiva, Sadāśiva, Maheśvara in the Niṣkala, Niṣkala-Sakala, Sakala forms respectively. In Buddhism this triune aspect is represented by Buddha Vajrasattva and Avalokiteśvara, in the Dharmakāya, Sambogha-kāya and Nirmāṇa-kāya respectively. We also notice that in Buddhism,[11] Ādi-Buddha is belived ever to be and ever to have been, in a state of perfect repose. The only active part which he is represented ever to have taken with reference to the Universe was the bringing into being, by separate acts of creation, the five Divine Buddhas, as emanation from himself. These Buddhas are called Divine Buddhas, because they spring direct from Ādi Buddha, and they were brought by him into existence merely as instruments through whose agency he might effect the creation of the universe." The five Buddhas are Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnāsambhāva, Amitābha and Amoghasiddha. In Japan the five are called a little differently. Further the idea of the Dhyāni-Buddhas mentioned just now can be compared with the five Śaktis of the Śiva-tattva. It is said that the Supreme Being who is without beginning and end, eternal, all-pervading, extremely subtle, incomprehensible, etc., is in Niṣkala. But in His boundless mercy wills, a small part of his self, emerge out of Him, five Śaktis: the Parā-Śakti, Ādi-Śakti, Icchā-Śakti, Jñāna-Śakti and the Kriyā-Śakti. Reading the function of each of these Śaktis and comparing them with those of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, we can form an idea of basic similarities. We also observe that from the five Dhyāni Buddhas emanate the five Bodhisattvas, such as Samantabhadra, Vajrāpaṇi, Avalokiteśvara (or Padmapāṇi), Ratnapāṇi and Viśvapāṇi. Each of these Bodhisattvas is the reflex of his respective predecessor. The same idea is found in the Śaiva-Siddhānta, where the emanations are represented by Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Sadyojāta, Aghora and Vāma-deva.

According to P.H. Pott[12] there is another important point to note, that in Mantra Buddhism the idea of a lower Saguṇa trinity consisting of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva is

[11]Oldfield, *Nepal*, 2.89-90 (quoted in *Modern Buddhism*).
[12]*Yoga en Yantra*, p.120.

present. We find the same idea in Śaiva-Siddhānta. Taking all this in view, we are more and more convinced, that both these sects built their theology on the same basis. In fact, from the facts just related, the sameness in structure, if not in idea, is so obvious as to be irresistible.

Before we conclude this brief study about the two sects, a few words on important aspects of theirs, viz., the conception of Advaya and Śakti, may be said.

In Mahāyāna Buddhism, the highest state is the Boddhi-citta or the mind as enlightment. This Bodhi-citta has within it two elements which consist of Śūnyatā, the perfect enlightment of the nature of Void and the second is Karuṇā, the Universal Compassion for beings. And the bringing up into one of these two elements e.g. Śūnyatā and Karuṇā, is known as Advaya.[13] The relation of these two elements is rather important in the Vajrayāna doctrine. It is said that the state of Śūnyatā is based on the realisation that all things are transitory, non-ego. They are just like images in a dream, and not real. Śūnyatā is endowed with purity, non-existent, unborn, and void. Karuṇā, which represents Compassion is the determination to spread the right knowledge among the people, who, owing to their desire are blinded by ignorance, and can not realise the law of transmigration caused by the force of their actions. Compassion implies the removal of this bondage, and leads them to a life which agrees with the law of dependent origination (Pratītya-samutpāda).[14]

The mixture of these two elements is termed Advaya. It is a melting of salt in water which results in the cessation of duality and the rise of non-duality. Later on this idea is deified in the Vajrayāna school and we then find the representation of the deities, Ādi-Buddha and Prajñā. Thus these two deities are the embodiment of Śūnyatā and Karuṇā. The relation of these two deities has been described in some texts[15] as conjungal love (*sahajam prema*) which is very natural. This Yuganaddha (conjugal relation) is then called Advaya, it is the Bodhi-citta[16], it is the Dharmakāya.[17]

Thus, in short, we say that in Vajrayāna, Ādi-Buddha is regarded as the highest deity, and also as the originator of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. He is represented in Yub-yam form embracing Prajñāpāramitā.[18]

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[13]S.B. Das Gupta, *An Introduction into Tantric Buddhism*, p. 125. B. Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction into Esotoric Buddhism*, p.101.

[14]Bhattacharyya, *Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, p.102,

[15]S.B. Dasgupta, *Intr. Tantric Buddhism*, p. 128. Prema-pañcaka of Advaya-vajra.

[16]Ibid. *Sādhana-mālā*, 2.17.

[17]Ibid. Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā: *etad advayam ity uktaṁ bodhicittam idaṁ param.*

[18]See Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, pp.84-85.

Having surveyed the idea of a Śakti in Buddhism, we can see a parallellism in Śaivism. This Yub-yam in Śaivism is represented by Śiva and His Śakti (Pārvatī) and is at the back of cosmic evolution. This form is called Arddhanārīśvara-mūrti.[19] Here Śiva Himself is the Pure One and His Śakti is active, a dynamic force for liberation of souls in bondage by their karmas. Here we may note once again the idea of duality in non-duality.

The Vajrayanist[20] also says that Ādi-Buddha (Prajñā) is pure, and passive by nature. The religious inspiration is derived from his Śakti (karuṇā). This is active emotion of the Compassion, which serves like a dynamic force for the realisation of the highest goal.

Fundamentally, there seems to be not much difference between the two doctrines. Both these sects lay stress upon a theological principle of duality in non-duality.

Both possess two aspects in its view of ultimate nature, the negative and the positive (nivṛtti, pravṛtti), the static and the dynamic. In Hinduism these two aspects are represented by Śiva and His Śakti, in Buddhism by Śūnyatā and Karuṇā. Further, in the Hindu Tantra, Śiva-Śakti is manifested in the material world in the form of male and female. The same idea is objectified in Buddhism. Both these sects strive for perfect union, that is the union between two aspects of reality and the realisation of the non-duality nature of the self and the non-self.

Concluding our study of the two sects, regarding their theological system, we observe that both of them work on the same assumption or foundation. Therefore it is not surprising that in their later development in Indonesia they should reveal identical patterns that result in the saying *ya Buddha ya Śiva,* which means roughly that there is no difference whether you are a Śaivite or Buddhist.

This account, brief as it is, makes it easier to understand the development of Buddhism and Śaivism in Indonesia. Let us start with Buddhism.

The sacred book of the Buddhists called the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan[21] gives a good idea of the form of Buddhism in Indonesia. Here we find the description, that Bhaṭāra Buddha is the highest reality, truth, and has as His Śakti Bhaṭārī Prajñāpāramitā. It goes further to say that they are Advaya-jñāna respectively.[22] It warns us that inspite of the dual conception as described above, it must be remembered that they are essentially one. In His oneness (non-duality) as the cosmic unity, He is called by the name

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[19]Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol.I, II (Ardhanārīśvara).
[20]S.B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism,* p.100. Prajñā and Upāya; Śūnyatā and Karuṇā.
[21]The preamble says that it is an exposition of the sacred principle of Mahāyāna.
[22]P.H. Pott, *Yoga en Yantra,* p. 120.

Bhaṭāra Divārūpa, who is without beginning and end. This, it is said, is the Dharmakāya. Regarding the manifestation it says that Bhaṭāra Buddha has as His embodiment Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya (three jewels) and the five Tathāgatas. The Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya has taken the forms of the triune deity viz: Buddha, Lokeśvara and Bajrapāṇi (Vajrapāṇi). Regarding the five Tathāgatas, the name of the five Kośikas has been used by mistake.[23] But we take here the usual five Dhyāni Buddhas as we find them mentioned in other texts. These five Tathāgatas are Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnāsambhāva, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi.

The points of importance here are: firstly, it informs us of the nature of the Dharma-kāya, and it lays stress on the theological principle of duality in non-duality, as indicated by the Divārūpa. Secondly, we mark that Buddha manifests himself by His eightfold bodies in the form of the three Ratnatraya and the five Tathāgatas. In all these we see similarities between Indonesian and Japanese Buddhism of the Shingon school. It is the names that are different, the essence is the same. Thus we can identify Bhaṭāra Buddha with Garbha-dhātu and the Vajra-dhātu which are the embodiments of Dharma-dhātu. Looking into the history of Mantra Buddhism in Indonesia, we notice the same system of manifestation operating in the Far East, in the Shingon school of Buddhism in Japan. In Japan Dharma-dhātu is said to be embodied in the two dhātus, the Garbha-dhātu of the three Tathāgatas and the Vajra-dhātu of the five Tathāgatas. In Indonesia, Buddha is said to be embodied in Ratnatraya and the five Tathāgatas.

In Śaivism, Śiva enjoys the supreme position, as the first cause of whole creation. All other Hindu deities have tended to become merely His aspects. But with the presence of Buddhism as a second state religion, some changes have taken place in the former unique position of Śiva. But this does not affect his supremacy very much in the later development in Bali.

The side by side existence of the two religions and their ancillary philosophies, during the East-Javanese period gave rise to a mixed cult, the so-called "Śiva-Buddha" cult. Now the question naturally rises: how was it possible for these different sects to meet and mingle? The answer can be found in religious literature. The basic unity or sameness of the theological systems in both these sects paved the way for the Indonesian Hindus to create a new form of reality or faith, the *Śiva-Buddha-loka*.[24]

Though not much is known regarding the passive aspect of Buddha and Śiva, the nature of the manifestations mentioned in literature help us to draw certain inferences. To

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[23]Saints of the Pāśupatas.

[24]I am trying to avoid here using the word "identity" of Buddha and Śiva, which means they are only different forms actually one. This will be clear, if we treat the development in Bali.

this literary group belong such works as Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan,[25] the Sutasoma and the Arjuna-Vijaya. In Arjuna-Vijaya we find mentioned, the five Dhyāni Buddhas, Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi. These five Buddhas are identified with Śivasadā, Rudra, Dhāṭṛdeva, Devamahā and Harimūrti. The same source[26] informs us about a king, who after muttering the formula of the sameness of the manifestations of Śiva and Buddha, says that there is no difference between himself and the highest Buddha who is in reality one with Śiva. And that he, by repeating the mantra is liberated and achieves the Advaita-state (*lepas, advitiya*).

In the Sutasoma,[27] the five Dhyāni Buddhas are identified with Śiva-rājadeva, Īśvara, Bhaṭāra Dhāṭṛ, Mahāmara and Viṣṇu. Further it says that Jina, the highest truth that shows itself as the triad, Buddha, Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi, is the same as the trinity Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īśvara. After this identification we come across a line which says: *Jinatwa lawan Śivatattva tunggal* (Jina and Śiva are one). The same idea is also expressed in the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan.[28] It says that to reach the "Aṣteśvaryasukha" means also reaching "Śiva-Buddha". Then it continues to show the sameness of "(*Ādi*) *Buddha lawan* (*parama*) *Śiva*" (*lawan* means and). Next follows the identification of the five-fold and the three-fold manifestations of both and it concludes by saying *Sira ta Śiva-Buddha* (who is Śiva-Buddha).

The above accounts give us a fair idea about the development of both these sects on Indonesian soil. Seeing the sameness of the manifestations of Śiva and Buddha it was natural for the people to conceive the origin of these manifestations as emanating one, invisible, abstract source, and that is Śiva-Buddha. It is another step in the process to call this domain Śiva-Buddha-loka. In some of the accounts this composite reality, Śiva-Buddha, seems to be the last refuge of every individual, at once the Source and the End.

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[25]Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan is a Buddhist hand-book. It is the holy book of the Buddhists in Indonesia. It claims to embody the Mahāyāna doctrine. Some scholars think that it was probably composed during the Śailendra period. But gradually continuous modification was going on till at last after Siṇḍok's reign it has been regarded as a Hinduised version of a Buddhist work.

The Sutasoma is a poetical work composed by Mpu Tantular about the middle of the 14th century. The other name is Puruṣādaśānta. The theme is about the fight of king Sutasoma and Puruṣādaśānta. Here the relation of Śaivism and Buddhism is very close.

Arjuna-vijaya: another work composed by the same author is named Arjuna-vijaya. According to Friedrich, it is partly based upon the old Javanese Uttarakāṇḍa and deals with the story of the defeat of Ravaṇa by Arjuna. The author flourished during the reign of Hayam Wuruk.

[26]T.L.V. 58 (1919):522.

[27]Kern Ver. Gesch. 4.149-177.

[28]T.L.V. 59 (1919):522.

The Nāgarakṛtāgama[29] speaks about the king Kṛtanagara as *Mokteng Śiva-Buddha-loka* (Liberated in the domain of the Supreme). In the Singasari stone inscription of 1273 (śaka era)[30] it says about the same *king Lumah ri Śiva-Buddha* (Return to the Lord self).

We find from other expressions that the highest truth is called "Śiva-Buddha". Some years back an Old-Javanese verse was published[31] by Kern. It is very interesting for us to see how its author tries to explain the Oneness of Śiva-Buddha. The verse reads: "God Buddha does not differ from the Highest of the Gods. Both are said to contain many elements. The exalted Buddha is all. How can man (in certain points) rashly diffferentiate him into two. The essence of Jina and the essence of Śiva are one. They are differentiated and they are one: In law there is no dualism". Thus inspite of the minor differences it is said that in the ultimate sense they are one.

According to an account collected by Eerde[32], the priest says: *Kite Śiva rūpa, Buddha rūpa, sakala magawe jagaddhite?* Śiva=Oṃ=A+U+M (Tripuruṣa). Buddha=Hriḥ (trikoṇa). For trikoṇa we can read "the Ratnatraya of the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan", consisting of the members, Buddha, Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi. According to the Arjuna-Vijaya, as pointed out earlier, these members of the Ratnatraya can be identified with the Trimūrti, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

These are some of the more important accounts regarding the nature of the mixture of the two sects, indispensable for an understanding of the religious situation in Java. A clearer picture will emerge if we treat the condition now prevailing in Bali. Very few Buddhist families live in Bali, and most of them concentrate in Karangasem (South Bali).

In stating the difference between Buddhism and Śaivism the priest[33] says: *Buddha saking niṣkala ngerereh sakala daṅ Śiva saking sakala ngerereh niṣkala.* This motto can be understood if we consider the nature of Buddha and Śiva. It will be clearer if we translate the line into "Buddha from Dharma-kāya is searching the Nirmāṇa-kāya and Śiva from the sakala is searching the niṣkala". What is meant here by this motto may be explained in the following manner.

The Buddha out of compassion for the suffering of human beings himself appeared from the world of Dharmakāya into the human world in his Nirmāṇa-kāya form (Body of transformation). The historical Buddha (Śākyamūni) is regarded as one of the

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[29]Song 43 Line 5.
[30]Kern, Kon. Inst. T.L.V. 1905/06.
[31]Med. Kon. Akad. v. Wet. Rks. 3. Deel V. 37. 32. Kern's translation.
[32]Van Eerde, Hindu-Javaansche en Buddhische Eeredienst, *Bijdr. T.L.V.* 65 (1911).
[33]Ibid, Note on Śiva-Buddha, *Bijdr. TLV.* 65 (1911).

examples, as an incarnation of the eternal Buddha. Now what about Śiva, who from sakala is searching the niṣkala? The idea here is most probably that with Śiva we do not have the idea of incarnation, for the form of Śiva in sakala is always there in the world, it is eternal. The yogin starts his search for the truth with the worship of Śiva in the sakala form. In this way a gradual perception of the truth in the Niṣkala form will dawn.

Another important point to note here is the difference between symbols used by the priests of Śiva and Buddha. During the religious service, we observe that the Buddha-priest has in the right hand bajra(Vajra), and the Śiva-priest a flower. Thus the difference here is between the flower and the Bajra(Vajra) as symbolic weapons in their hands. It is said that the *Pedanda Buddha śakti ring pangandika, pedanda Śiva śakti ring kayun* (Buddha priest is śakti in his words and the Śiva priest is śakti in his disposition).[34] Regarding the Buddha-priest śakti in his words, it reminds us about the character of the Mantra school of Buddhism. Takakusu[35] has summarised it as follows: "A mystic hymn (mantra) is the source of obtaining the enfolding power of Buddha. If we speak of the preaching of the spiritual body and the explicability of the state of effect, we can speak so because we presume that all speeches are the real speeches issuing from the Buddha's own will, or we should say, a voiceless speech for his own enjoyment of the taste of Dharma".

But what about the Śiva-priest who is śakti in his disposition? It is rather difficult to explain this. But it is most probably connected with the life of the priests. It is known from tradition that the Śiva priest from time to time undertakes religious fast, in order to purify and strengthen his spirit. Can we interpret the flower symbol from this? It is said that no weapon is necessary for the Śiva priest because he has the strength in his disposition. This is the only explanation that I can offer.

We also observe the difference between the priests of the two cults, Śiva and Buddha, not only in ideas but also in dress and utensils needed during the religious service. While the Śiva priest invokes the different names of Śiva, such as Śambu, Īśvara, etc., the Buddha priest invokes the names of the five Dhyāni Buddhas.

The report submitted by Friedrich[36] gives us a valuable account regarding this subject. He says that Buddha is regarded as the younger brother of Śiva, and though the Buddhist does not worship Śiva nor a Śaivite worships Buddha, they live peacefully side

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[34]Śakti here takes the meaning of "divine strength."

[35]*The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 148.

[36]Voorlooping verslag van Bali. Bat. Gen. Gen. XXLI. 29.

by side. On the occassion of a big festival such as Pañca-walikrama, the cremation of kings, etc., the services of both priests are needed. This reminds us again of the olden days, when the Hindus were still ruling in East-Java, where the kings paid reverence to Buddha as well as to Śiva.

Now having observed the relation between Śiva and Buddha, we notice a change of spirit from conditions obtaining from Java. But still we can not say this with certainty, since we do not know what was the real condition of Java during that period. We know only from books which are preserved till now, but cannot be certain about the real spirit behind the books, the religious spirit of the people. We can only guess but we do not have enough facts about the social conditions at that time. The question now is, what is the actual condition of the "Śiva-Buddha" cult. Can we speak here of the melting together of the two different sects into one?

Comparing the accounts dealt with so far, we can offer two possible answers. Firstly, the accounts collected so far in Java, give us the impression that somehow a fusion of faiths had taken place. Śiva and Buddha became one, and formed one reality, the Śiva-Buddha, and their domain was designated the Śiva-Buddha-loka. Secondly, the accounts collected from Bali give us an altogether different idea. Here Buddha is separate from Śiva, He is considered as the younger brother. There is no question of a mixed cult, Śiva-Buddha, as in Java.

If we start our investigation with the idea that what is observed now in Bali, must have taken place in Java before, then we may be in a better position to give a right judgement on the extant Javanese accounts. Thus from the Balinese point of view, what is called "Śiva-Buddha' cult, differs from the cult as once found in Java. It is not an identification of Śiva and Buddha in the sense that they become one and give the form of Śiva-Buddha, nor in the sense that Śiva is only a different form of Buddha but actually the two are one.

Both Buddhism and Śaivism enjoyed the status of state religions during the Hindu rule in East-Java. Many kings paid their homage to both sects of Śiva and Buddha. There was also a strong movement to bring Śiva and Buddha together. This is clear from the sentence; "How can man (in certain points) rashly differentiate him into two? There is no duality in law".

If the identification of the manifestations of Śiva and Buddha took place, it was probably meant to convey that they all serve, essentially, the same idea or end. But they are not the same deities in the sense that one is the different form of the other. Here, the word identification has to be a little differently understood. To be precise, the spirit of

it is, that both of them serve the same purpose in life (in the ultimate sense) though the appearance may be different. This is actually the idea prevalent now in Bali, and it has become the people's outlook on life. This universality of Eastern religions and their recognition of many forms of the One, of many paths leading to the same End is nothing new.

The conclusion then is that there can be no question of the melting together of the two sects with Śiva-Buddha as their Godhead. Also there is no doubt of mixture of the two. During the service we observe the same and also different utensils used by the pedandas of both sects. In religious as well in social life, they observe the same as well as different rules. The effect of this tolerant character of these sects is such that a Śaivite will listen to the name of Buddha with sincere reverence and also the Buddhist will do the same for Śiva. This is what we can offer for the interpretation of the so-called *mixed cult Śiva-Buddha.*

In the era that has opened out before the people of Bali, they have a lively interest in the past traditions of the country. Hinduism and Buddhism are parts of that tradition. It is natural that critical re-examination of the older faith, practices and literature should be among its tasks for the present. The people of Bali accept the task, or the challenge. This essay is an humble attempt out of many, and the more that may follow in the future. In dealing with "differences of the same", in Śaivism and Buddhism in Bali, we have to be as catholic as the people whose faith we have been expounding, or examining. We are not to overlook distinctions where these exist, nor are we permitted to forget the essential unity of all faiths, a unity which neither custom nor age can stale. This is the humble lesson of our study of the Śaivite and Buddhist faiths in Bali.

FUNCTION AND BEAUTY IN TRADITIONAL JAVANESE POETRY

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(translated by René T. A. Lysloff)*

Language is a symbolic system or code used by man to give birth to ideas, feelings and needs. It can be catagorized into two distinct types:

1. ordinary language, and
2. literary language.

Ordinary language is identified as day to day speech and writings not included with literature. Literary language, on the other hand, is said by Plato and Aristoteles to be a product of the fine arts and have two aspects: beauty (*dulce*) and function (*utile*).

In this century, Fokkema reformulated the definition of literature: a unity of expression which embraces beauty and function, a result of the artist's creative energy, his ideals, intentions, and feelings, either in oral or in written form.

Language also has two aspects: content and form. Usually, ordinary language has the feature of emphasizing the writer's intent (that is, content). However, in literary language, not only intent, or content, is prominant, but beauty of form as well. This conforms to the definition of Plato and Aristoteles: it has both function and beauty.

Literary works are of two types:

1. prose, or
2. poetry.

Old Javanese poetry is made up of *saloka* and *kakawin*; Middle Javanese *tembang tengahan* and *kidung*; Modern Javanese, *tembang macapat, lagu dolanan anak-anak,* and *geguritan.*

In this paper, I will not discuss prose literary language, nor will I touch upon dramatic art forms such as theater, tragedies, comedies, *wayang kulit, wayang golek, wayang orang,* and the like. Rather I will examine the beauty and function of traditional poetry in Java.

Poetry is functional because it may be concerned with at least one of the following topics: histroy, politics, advice, everyday life, beauty of nature, love and passion,

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suffering, grief and despair, entertainment and relaxation, riddles and word games, children's games, etc.

1. *History*. There are poems which contain historical material, such as this example drawn from the beginning of th`e *Bhāratayuddha* kakawin:

a. Nahan don Mpu Sĕḍah makirtya Śakakāla ri sang akuda śuddha candrama /
b. sang sākṣāt Harimurti yan katiga nitya makapalana keśaning musuh /
c. sang lwir lek pratipada śukla pinalakwan anguripi wijilnireng ripu /
d. ring prang darpa paśuprabhūpamanira hyunika dungulaning parangmuka //

To provide you with a sense of what this poem means, we have translated it into English.

a. Thus, the goal of Empu Sedah was to create a memorial to a man who rode a horse pure as the moon/
b. he who looks like Dewa Surya (God of the sun) in the dry season, who always uses a saddle (made) of his enemies' hair/
c. he who looks like the moon at the time of its rising (the first to the fifteenth day of each lunar month), whose enemies beg for mercy when he appears/
d. he who is savage in battle, like Dewa Śiva, who wishes to vanquish the enemy //

In the stanza above, we find a *sengkalan* (chronogram; a date suggested by words having the values of certain numbers), which indicates the date the book *Bhāratayuddha* was written. The sengkalan is found in line *a*: *Śakakāla ri sanga kuda śuddha candrama.* Thus, outside of its literal meaning, the phrase translates as 'the year of Śaka: 9-7-0-1', read 1079 Ś 1157 A.D. Through this poem, we are also able to learn that *Bhāratayuddha* was written by Mpu Sedah (and Panuluh) under King Jayabaya in the kingdom of Kadiri, East Java.

In works of poetry beginning around the time of Ronggawarsito (in Surakarta), we often find what is known as *sandi asma,* or cryptogram. These cryptograms mention the name of the author concealed in a line of the text. A cryptogram can be deciphered in several conventional ways. One way, for example, is to read the line in alternating syllables, such as the following phrase: *Rong naga mawarni si rata* (in English: "A snake hole constitutes happiness" ?). If we read the odd numbered syllables first (*Rong* na*ga* ma*war*ni *si* ra*ta*), and then the even numbered syllables (Rong *naga ma*warni si *ra*ta), the phrase becomes *Ronggawarsito namanira* (Ronggawarsito is the name); that is, Ronggawarsito is the name of the work's creator.

2. *Politics*. Some poems present important political concepts such as *kalih sameka* ('the two are the same'), mentioned in the book *Arjuna-Wijaya* 27.2:

a. Ndan kantĕnanya haji tan hana bheda sang hyang,
b. Hyang Buddha rakwa kalawan Śiwarājadewa,
c. kalih sameka sira sang pinakeṣṭi dharma,
d. ring dharma sima tuwi yan lĕpas adwitiya.

In English, the poem goes as follows:

a. In fact, there is no difference between them,
b. Sang Hyang Buddha and Sang Hyang Śiva (king of the gods),
c. the two are the same, their goal is dharma,
d. whether 'dharma sima' or 'dharma lepas', there is no difference.

The expression *bhinneka tunggal ika* (diversity in unity), the philosophical principle of modern Indonesian national unity, is mentioned in the Old Javanese book, *Sutasoma* 139.5:

a. Rwanika dhatu winuwus wara Buddha Wiśwa,
b. bhinneka rakwa ring apan kĕna parwanosĕn,
c. mangka ng Jinatwa kalawan Śiwatwa tunggal,
d. bhinneka tunggal ika tan hana dharma mangrwa.

In English:

a. It is said that his two aspects are Buddha and Śiva,
b. they differ perhaps, but how can they be split in two?
c. thus, the truth of Buddha and the truth of Śiva are united,
d. different yet united, there is no duality in dharma.

3. *Advice or admonition*. Some poems offer general advice to the common people (*Gambuh*) while others (*Girisa*) admonish kings and leaders to govern with virtue:

Gambuh

a. Wonten pocapanipun,
b. adiguna adigang adigung,
c. pan adigang kidang, adigung pan esthi,
d. adiguna ula iku,
e. telu pisan mati sampyoh. (Paku Buwana IV, *Serat Wulang Reh*)

In English it goes like this:

a. There are the expressions,

b. *adiguna, adigang,* and *adigung*
c. *adigang* is (the nature of) a deer, *adigung* of an elephant
d. *adiguna* is that of a snake
e. the three of them (fight one another) to die together.

Girisa

a. Déné utamaning nata, ber budi bawa leksana,
b. liré bèr budi mangkana, lila legawa ing driya,
c. anggung dènya paring dana, anggeganjar saben dina,
d. liré kang bawa leksana, anetepi pangandika.

In English:

a. The virtues of a king are charity and honesty in speech,
b. to have the virtue of charity means to be sincere and straightforward,
c. to do good deeds always, to give gifts everyday,
d. honesty in speech means to fulfill one's words.

4. *Everyday life in a certain period of history*. Poems may also describe characteristics of an era in history. Some, like the famous *tembang Sinom* from the book *Serat Kalatidha* written by the renowned Ronggawarsito, describe the confused and terrible chaos of the writer's time:

a. Amenangi jaman édan,
b. éwuh aya ing pambudi
c. milu édan nora tahan,
d. yèn tan milu anglakoni,
e. boya keduman mélik,
f. kaliren wekasanipun,
g. dilallah karsa Allah,
h. begja-begjané kang lali,
i. luwih begja kang éling lawan waspada.

In English the poem goes like this:

a. (We) are living in a time of madness,
b. troubles and confusion in (our) thoughts,
c. to join in on the madness is intolerable,
d. if (one) does not join in,
e. (he) will not share in the spoils,

f. ultimately to starve,
g. (yet), by the will of God,
h. fortunate are those who forget,
i. more fortunate are those who remember and take heed.

5. *The beauty of nature.* Javanese poetry often describes in great detail the beauty and wonder of nature. One can easily picture the settings described in the two verses. I have drawn from the Old Javanese poem *Wṛttasañcaya*:

a. Honya tikang wwai kumucur,
b. mĕtw i rĕngat ning parangan,
c. tusnya kinĕmbĕng madalĕm,
d. māṇawakākrīḍitaka // (Māṇawakākrīḍitaka, no.31)

In English:

a. Water flows (and) spouts,
b. out from coral rifts,
c. pouring into deep pools,
d. (where) children play splashingly.

a. Ngkāmeng tĕmbing ning singgrong jrah piḍaḍa majajar atata lĕyĕp langönya tining halan,
b. pangdukning hertambang sangke rĕngatikang upala tumĕḍun atrigañca tibeng parung,
c. himpĕr wrĕṣṭyādrĕs sĕmburnya n tiba kasĕlĕhaning aruṇa lumra wangkawa yan tinon,
d. dudwang wwai muñcar lyan tekang mĕtu saka ri parangan anamar bhujangga-wijrĕmbhita. (no.98)

In English:

a. On the precipitous slopes of a deep canyon, *pidada** trees grow in an orderly fashion, looking vaguely beautiful,
b. water leaps from stone crevices, swiftly gliding down to fall into the canyon below,
c. like a great downpour of rain, the water falls, striking the rays of the sun, a rainbow,
d. in another place, water spouts from coral rocks, obscurely (streaming), slithering out like a snake (from its hole).

6. *Love and passion.* Of course, Javanese poetry also describes love and passion, often of a young maiden's unrequited or impossible love. The first example is *tembang*

*Sonneratia caseolaris (acida).

Dandanggula and describes a young princess who is hopelessly in love with Kuparman, a great warrior.

a. Lamat katon pakuwon bala Mir,
b. ingkang celak lan ing Parangjara,
c. pakuwon kang urut lĕpĕn,
d. kambah tyas kapirangu,
e. rangu-rangu says ngranuhi,
f. wirangrong karungrungan,
g. kumilat malat kung,
h. sang retna yu rawat waspa,
i. kadi paran margané nggoningsun panggih,
j. lan wong agung Kuparman.

In English it goes like this:

a. The camps of the Amir's army were vaguely visible,
b. (in a place) near Parangjara,
c. set up along a river,
d. (a maiden's) heart is filled with doubt,
e. doubts increase becoming anguish,
f. her heart is afflicted by love,
g. her passion inflamed,
h. the beautiful young maiden weeps,
i. "what is the way for me to meet,
j. with the great man Kuparman?"

7. *Suffering, grief, and despair.* An excellent example of suffering, grief, and despair is found in the following *tembang Maskumambang*. The young Chinese princess in this poem is the maiden mentioned in the *tembang Dandanggula,* my previous example. Here, she is in battle with Kelaswara, one of the wives of Keparman.

a. Putri Cina gulangsaran kawlas asih
b. "Mara Kélaswara,
c. pedhangen juren wak mami,
d. aja andedawa lara!"

In English:

a. The Chinese princess pitifully collapses to the ground,
b. "Please, Kelaswara,

c. strike me with your sword, destroy my body,
d. don't prolong my suffering!"

8. *Entertainment and relaxation.* Many Javanese poems are written for simple relaxation and entertainment, describing only the beauty of an everyday task, the joy of living. A *tembang Balabak* by the famous Ronggawarsito is an excellent example of such poetry:

a. Byar rahina Ken Rara wus maring sendhang, mamet wé,
b. turut marga nyambi ramban jejanganan, antuké,
c. praptĕng wisma wusing nyapu atetebah, jogané.

In English, it means something like this:

a. At dawn, Ken Rara (a young girl) went to a well, seeking water,
b. along a path, she searched for vegetables, successfully,
c. arriving home, after sweeping, she beat the floor mats.

9. *Riddles and word games.* Like the people of many other parts of the world, the Javanese enjoy riddles and word games. In English we often begin a riddle with "What is...?" In the following two *tembang Pocung,* the riddle begins with *"Bapak Pocung"* which means 'Mr. Pocung' (literally, 'Father Pocung'). Here, "Mr. Pocung" is described and the listener is required to figure out what he is. See if you are able to tell who (or rather, what) "Mr. Pocung" is from the translations:

a. Bapak Pocung,
b. duwé janggel dudu jagung,
c. mata tanpa sela,
d. kuncungnya kinarya wiji,
e. yèn wis tuwa migunani mring manungsa.

In English:

a. Mr. Pocung,
b. has an ear, but not of corn,
c. has (many) eyes closely set,
d. his crown is used as a seedling,
e. (and) when he is of age, he is useful to mankind.

Do you know what "Mr. Pocung" is? The answer is *nanas,* or pineapple.
Now, let's try the second one:

a. Bapak Pocung,

b. cangkemmu marep mandhuwur,
c. sabamu mring sendhang,
d. pencokanmu lambung kéring,
e. praptèng wisma si Pocung mutah kuwaya.

In English:

a. Mr. Pocung,
b. your mouth faces upwards,
c. you often go to a well,
d. your perch is on the left side of a person's waist,
e. arriving home, Pocung vomits the water in his stomach.

Have you guessed the answer? Mr. Pocung is a *buyung,* or water jug.

10. *Children's games.* A large part of Javanese poetry is made up of traditional children's songs. These songs, called *lagu dolanan* (game songs), describe or are involved in the various games that young children play everday. Often, these songs, refer to animals, as in the three examples I have chosen:

Kupu Kuwi

a. Kupu kuwi tak-incupé,
b. mung iburé ngéwuhaké,
c. ngalor ngidul ngétan bali ngulon,
d. mrana-mréné ing saparan-paran,
e. méncok cégrok miber kleper,
f. mentas méncok cégrok banjur miber kleper.

In English:

a. I want to catch that butterfly,
b. but his flying makes it difficult,
c. going to the north, to the south, to the east, returning to the west,
d. to and fro, going everywhere,
e. to perch *cégrok,* to fly *kleper,**
f. after perching *cégrok* he then flies *kleper.*

*Note that the words *cégrok* and *kleper* are onomatopoeic.

Menthog-menthog

a. Ménthog-ménthog tak-kandhani,
b. mung lakumu angisin-isini,
c. mbok ya aja ngetok, ana kandhang waé,
d. enak-enak ngorok, ora nyambut gawé,
e. menthog-menthog aja metu,
f. égag-égog gawé guyu.

In English:

Manila Duck

a. Manila duck, let me tell you,
b. the way you walk should make you ashamed,
c. you had better not go out, just stay in your pen,
d. pleasantly snoring, not going to work,
e. Manila duck, don't go out,
f. waddling along, making people laugh.

In this third example, note the use of onomatopoeia:

Jaranan

a. *Jaranan, jaranan, jarané jaran tèji,*
b. *sing nunggang ndara behi,*
c. *sing ngiring para mantri,*
d. *jrèg jrèg nong, jrèg jrèg gung,*
e. *èsèt-èsèt turut nglurung,*
f. *bug krincing gedebug krincing, prog, prog, gedebug jedhèr!*
g. *bug krincing gedebug krincing, prog, prog, gedebug jedhèr!*

Now, in English:

Hobbyhorse

a. Hobbyhorse, hobbyhorse, the horse is the horse *tèji**
b. the rider is a high court official,
c. those with him are his aides,
d. *jrèg jrèg nong, jrèg jrèg gung,***
e. *eset-eset* (moving slowly) along the path,**
f. *bug krincing gedubug krincing, prog, prog, gedebug jedher!*** × 2

* A large breed of horse.
** Onomatopoeia.

Now I wish to discuss the beauty of Javanese poetry. This beauty can be viewed from three perspectives:

1. beauty in the sound of its language, through the use of such devices as alliteration, assonance, and, as shown in my last example, onomatopoeia:

2. beauty in its script; and

3. beauty in its melody.

To provide you with an example of the beauty of the sound of Javanese poetic language, I have selected an excerpt from the famous *Nāgarakrĕtāgama* 96.1 composed by Prapañca in 1365 A.D. In this excerpt, Prapañca offers a rather humorous description of himself:

a. Prapañca pra cacah pañca,
b. pracacad pocapan cĕcĕd,
c. prapöngpöng pipi pucce prĕm,
d. pracongcong cĕt pacĕh-pacĕh.

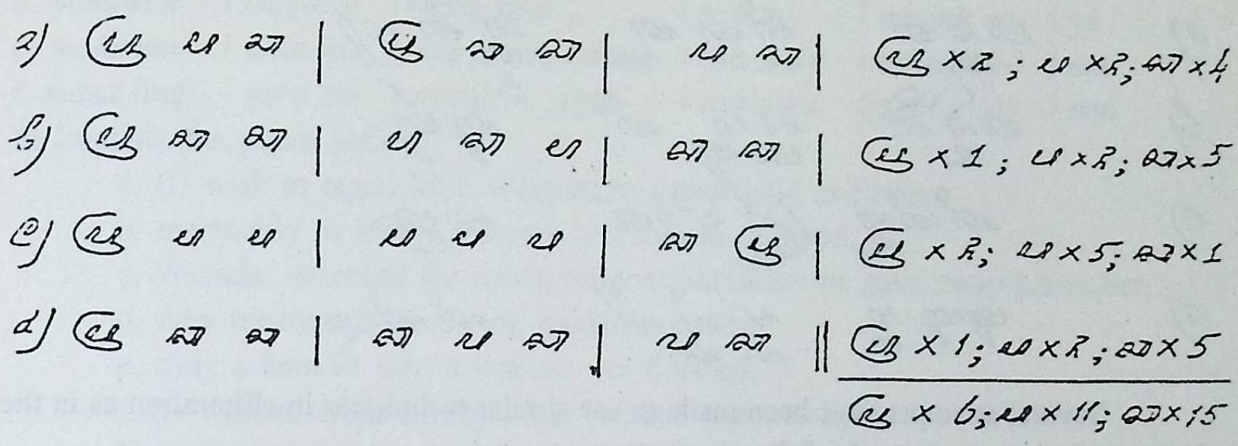
In English:

a. Prapañca means the five pra's,
b. he's characterized by talking funny,
c. his cheeks are swollen, his eyes sleepy,
d. his cheeks puff up to keep from laughing, suddenly to burst with hilarity.

What is particularly interesting about this poem is the extensive use of alliteration. Looking only at the initial consonants used in the text, we can see that they are made up entirely of the sounds *pr, p,* and *c*. The various combinations become especially clear if we assign the numbers 1, 2, and 3 to these consonants respectively:

a. pr	p	c	pr	c	c	p	c	a. 1 2 3	1 3 3	2 3
b. pr	c	c	p	c	p	c	c	b. 1 3 3	2 3 2	3 3
c. pr	p	p	p	p	p	c	pr	c. 1 2 2	2 2 2	3 1
d. pr	c	c	c	p	c	p	c	d. 1 3 3	3 2 3	2 3

Beauty is also found in the manner this poem appears in Javanese script. Indeed, how a poem appears in script is perhaps almost as important as how it sounds. As you can see, there are only three basic characters used in this poem, as I have indicated to the right. One might say that the beauty of this poem is in the elegant manner it employs limited consonant sounds.



The height of Javanese alliterative technique is found in another excerpt from the *Nāgarakrĕtāgama,* where Prapañca continues to describe himself:

a. Tan tata	*tita tan*	*tutĕn*	
b. tan tĕtĕs	*tan tuting*	*tutur*	
c. titik tan-	*tri tateng*	*tattwa*	
d. tutu n tam-	*tam titir*	*titih*	

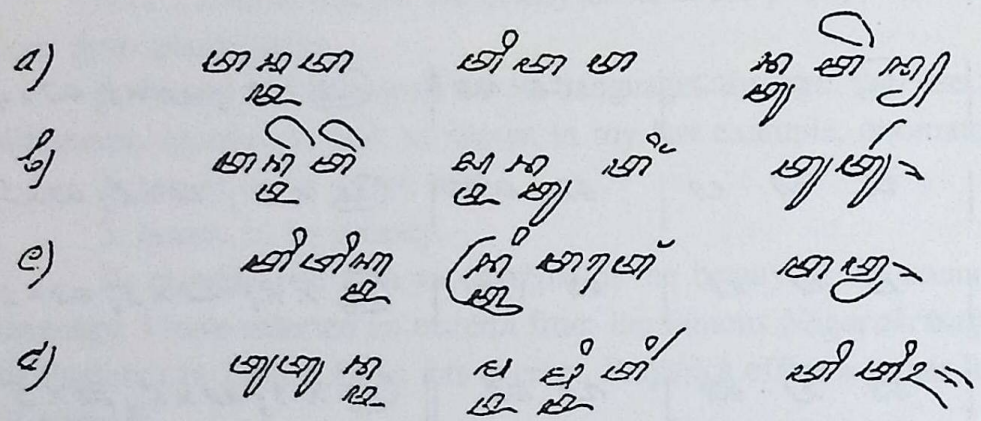
In English:

a. He doesn't know the rules and therefore shouldn't be imitated,
b. he's not diligent nor does he obey the religious instructions,
c. he doesn't set a good example nor does he learn true knowledge,
d. but always yields to his passion and desires.

Notice that every syllable begins with the sound *t* and that the metrical grouping is made up of 3+3+2 per line:

a. t t t	t t t	t t
b. t t t	t t t	t t
c. t t t	t t t	t t
d. t t t	t t t	t t

Here again, the beauty of this poem is in the meaningful way it employs an extremely limited number of sounds — an initial *t* sound and a few vowels. Beauty is also seen in the way this poem appears in Javanese script and it is clear that the initial *t* sound, written with the character, makes up each syllable of the poem. Such alliteration is no longer found in Modern Javanese poetry.



Several attempts have been made to use similar techniques in alliteration as in the Prapañca poem, such as the following verse:

a. Kala kula kulup,
b. kula kuli kelas,
c. kilak kolak kolang-kaling kalih kalo,
d. kula kèli kali,
e. kelip-kelip kalih kilo,
f. kilap kelem, kula kalis kelop-kelop.

In English it goes:

a. When I was still a small child,
b. I became a (school) class coolie,
c. I bought two strainers full of *kolak** (made from) *kolang-kaling*** (to resell),
d. I was washed down a river (while trying to cross it),
e. receding to appear very small (I was washed away) two kilometers,
f. uncertain whether I sank (or not), I (eventually) escaped (from death), to sit alone with eyes wide in surprise.

This poem, despite its extensive use of alliteration (in the sounds *k* and *l*, cannot be considered literature since its form is clearly artificially constructed and its content has no clear function.

Let us return once again to Prapañca's work, *Nāgarakrĕtāgama*. I would like to draw your attention to the ninety-seventh canto, which reads as follows:

a. Sama lan | Pu Wina- | dā prih, prih | dāna wi- | pulan ma- | sa
b. tama san- | sara ring | gatya, tya- | ga ring ra- | sa sanma- | ta

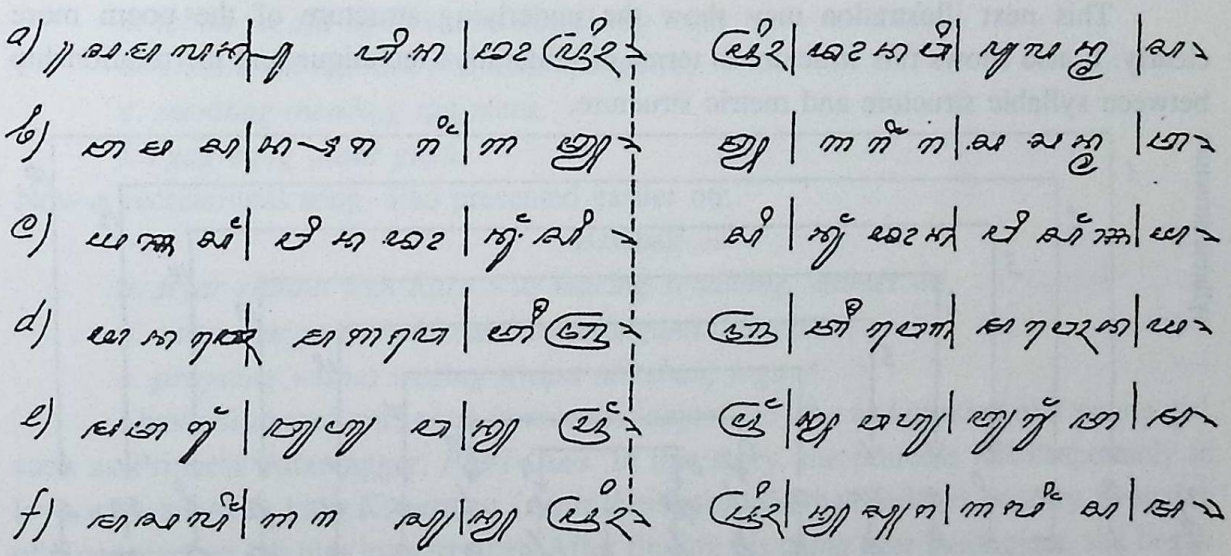
*A particular king of food, made from fruits.
** The name of a palm fruit.

c. yaśa sang | Winadā- | nungsi, si- | nung dāna | wisangsa- | ya
d. yanaweh | magawe | tībra, bra- | tī wega | maweh na- | ya
e. matarung | tuhu wa- | nya prang, prang- | nya wahu | turung ta- | ma
f. masa ling- | gara su- | nya prih, prih- | nya sura | galing sa- | mal

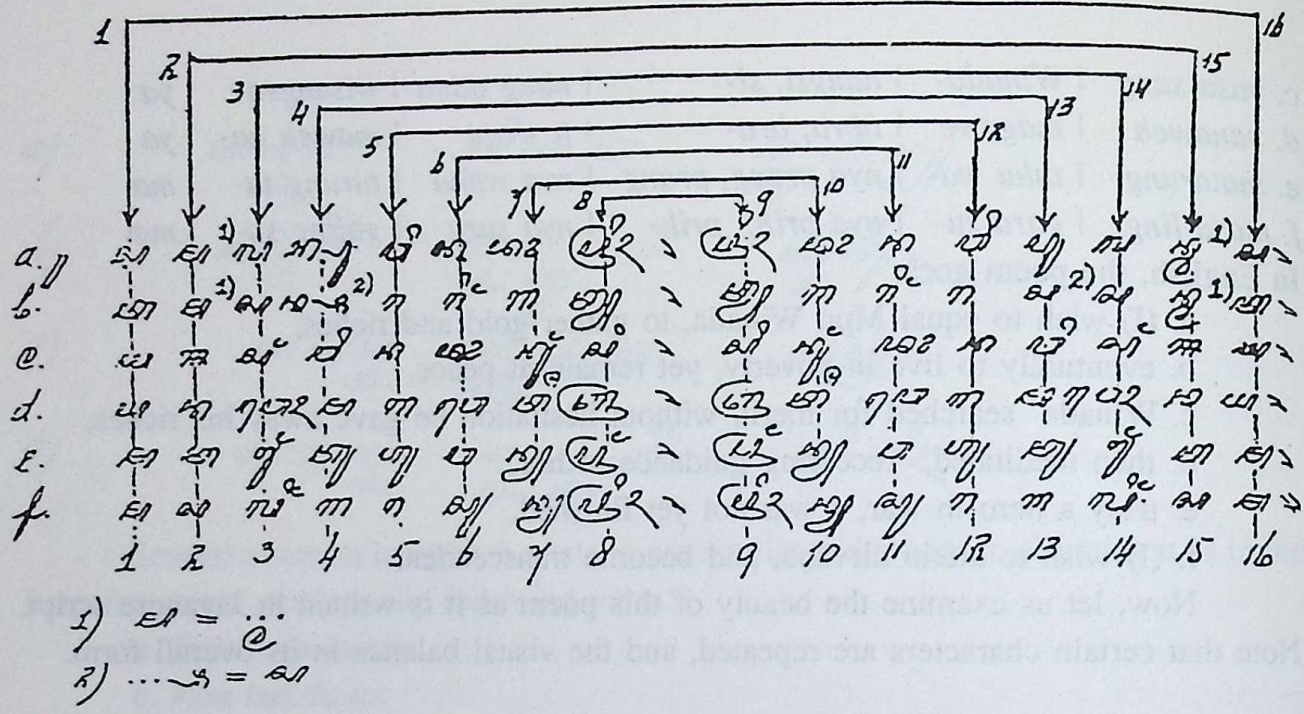
In English, the poem goes:

a. (I) wish to equal Mpu Winada, to gather gold and riches,
b. eventually to live in poverty, yet remain at peace,
c. Winada searched for merit, without hesitation he gave away his riches,
d. then meditated, receiving guidance in life,
e. truly a hero in war, a war not yet finished,
f. (I) wish to attain nirvāṇa, and become transcendent.

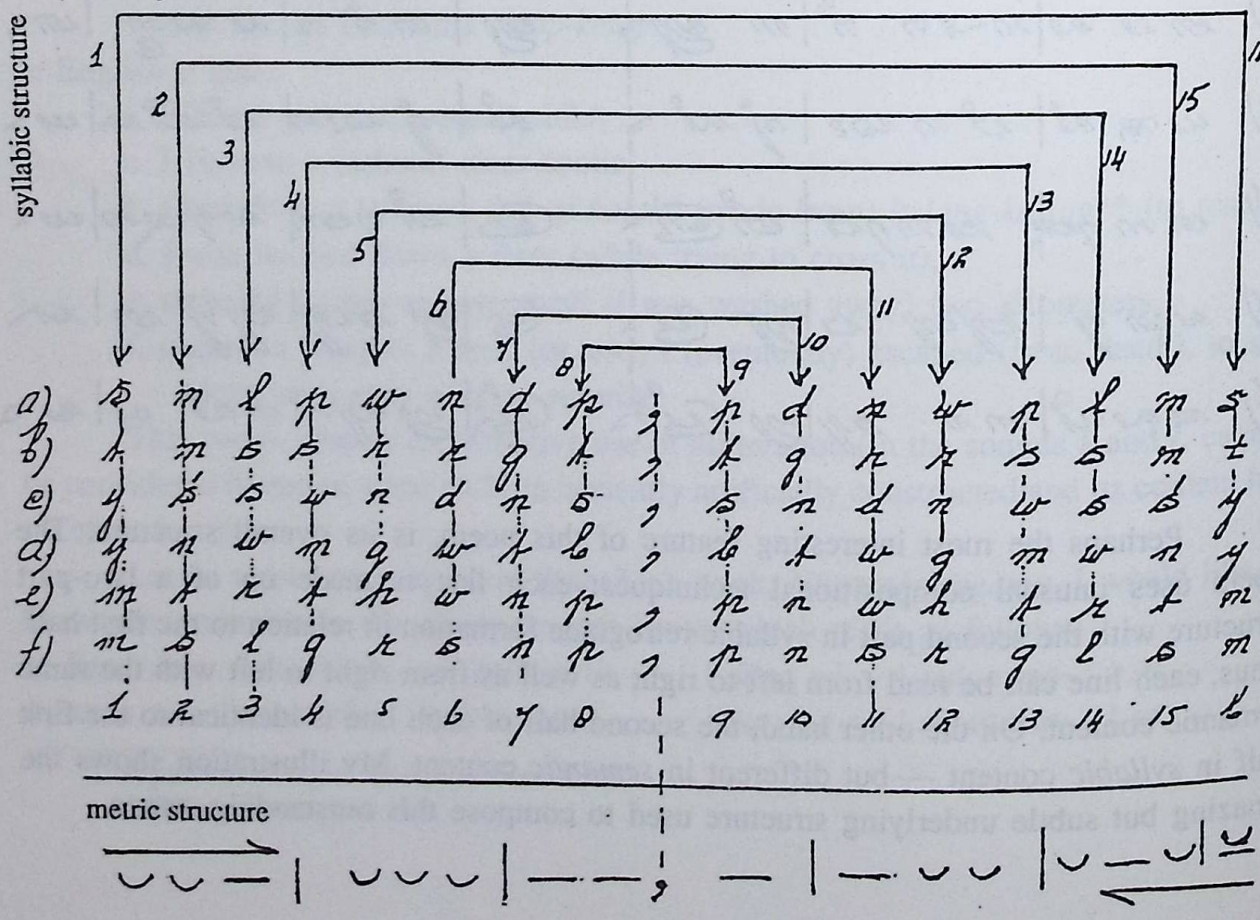
Now, let us examine the beauty of this poem as it is written in Javanese script. Note that certain characters are repeated, and the visual balance in its overall form.



Perhaps the most interesting feature of this poem, is its overall structure. The poem uses unusual compositional techniques: each line is made up of a two-part structure with the second part in syllabic retrograde formation in relation to the first half. Thus, each line can be read from left to right as well as from right to left with the same semantic content. On the other hand, the second half of each line is identical to the first half in *syllabic* content — but different in *semantic* content. My illustration shows the amazing but subtle underlying structure used to compose this outstanding stanza.



This next illustration may show the underlying structure of the poem more clearly. It also shows this structure in terms of alliterative technique and the relationship between syllabic structure and metric structure.



Earlier on, I have mentioned that there are three aspects of beauty in Javanese poetry: beauty in the sound of its language, beauty in its script, and beauty in its melody.

As in the songs of many other countries of the world, Javanese words and music are inextricably connected. Often, the music supports the text in conveying meaning and may seem to have characteristics and feelings which describe specific situations or places; for example: an elder giving advice or relating a story, happiness, sadness, love, passion, anger, war, crying, laughter, fun, comedy, relaxation, games, and many other feelings. Thus, much of Javanese poetry is conceived both as text and as melody. These two aspects are inseparable.

Here is an example of text-music relationships in a children's song that I presented to you earlier on:

Menthog-menthog

a. Menthog-menthog tak-kandhani,
b. mung lakumu angisin-isini,
c. mbok ya aja ngétok, ana kandhang waé,
d. enak-enak ngorok, ora nyambut gawé,
e. menthog-menthog aja metu,
f. égag-égog gawé guyu.

Now a recreational song, also presented earlier on:

Balabak

a. Byar rahina Ken Rara wus maring sendhang, mamet wé,
b. turut marga nyambi ramban jejanganan, antuké,
c. prapteng wisma wusing nyapu atetebah, jogané.

I have discussed earlier on poems that depict the love and passion of a young girl, such as Princess Adaninggar, *Putri Cina*. In this story, the princess fell desperately in love with an Arab king Kuparman (Amir Ambyah). She had left her country in search of Kuparman to ask him to marry her. After finding his camp near Parangjara, she began to lose her resolve and was not sure whether she should proceed with her plans or simply give up. She hesitated because she realized that the Arab king already had many wives. But even if she did not go on, she knew that she would not be able to suppress her love for the king. She then began to think of a way to meet him.

The pathos in the melody of the following poem depicts the love and anguish felt by Adaninggar in the story I told you, taken from the tale of Menak.

Dandanggula

a. Lamat katon pakuwon bala Mir,
b. ingkang celak lan ing Parangjara,
c. pakuwon kang urut lèpèn,
d. kambah tyas kapirangu,
e. rangu-rangu saya ngranuhi,
f. wirangrong karungrungan,
g. kumilat malat kung,
h. sang retna yu rawat waspa,
i. kadi paran margané nggoningsun panggih,
j. lan wong agung Kuparman.

Finally Adaninggar met Kélaswara, Kuparman's wife, and the two fought a fierce battle. Adaninggar was injured and fell to the ground. Unable to stand up again, she began to weep and despair:

Maskumambang

a. Putri Cina gulangsaran kawlas asih,
b. "Mara Kélaswara,
c. pedhangan juren wak mami,
d. aja andedawa lara!"

Most *tembang macapat*, or traditional songs of Java, have more than one melody. Some tembang forms are sung in many ways. For example, Dandanggula may be sung in its most simple unadorned form. It may, however, be sung with gamelan accompaniment, in free musical structure known as *palaran*. It may also be sung as the text to a fixed gamelan composition, or *gendhing*. The melody may be radically altered, such as in *Tlutur* or *Turu Laré*, and other cases.

Turning now to the next example, we have a tembang in its simple, unelaborated form. In this *tembang Sinom*, which I have translated earlier, the text is from the book of *Kalatidha* by Ronggawarsito and describes an era of madness:

Sinom

a. Amenangi jaman édan,
b. éwuh aya ing pambudi,
c. milu édan nora tahan,
d. yén tan milu anglakoni,
e. boya keduman mélik,
f. kaliren wekasanipun,

g. dilallah karsa Allah,
h. begja-begjané kang lali,
i. luwih begja kang éling lawan waspada.

Now compare it with this other Sinom, which describes the anger of king Menakjingga toward Damarwulan. Damarwulan had entered the royal garden, a place of relaxation exclusively for the king's wives. The king is so furious that he wishes to kill Damarwulan, yet he doubts whether he would win in battle. He also feels despair as he knows his two wives have already fallen in love with his handsome enemy:

a. Lah, sira iku wong apa,
b. wani-wani mlebéng taman sari,
c. rupamu bagus taruna,
d. pinangkanira ing ngendi,
e. lan sapa kang wewangi,
f. angakua mumpung durung,
g. palastra siya-siya,
h. tanpa aran angemasi,
i. lah sambata marang wong ngatuwanira.

In English:

a. What kind of person are you?
b. insolently entering the royal gardens,
c. your aspect is young and handsome,
d. where do you come from?
e. and what is your name?
f. admit it truthfully,
g. (before) you die in futility,
h. to die without your name known.
i. lah, appeal to your parents for aid (now you die by my hand!).

Let us now examine one more final poem, again depicting anger—in this case, an angry Sugriwa preparing to go into battle. Sugriwa, envoy of the gods, has entered the cave of Kiskenda to find and destroy the evil monster Maesasura. After meeting him, sugriwa tells the monster that he has been sent by Batara Indra to kill him. Sugriwa then challenges him to battle:

Durma

a. Apa iki kang aran Maesasura,
b. heh rebuten iya iki,

c. srayaning Hyang Indra,
d. Sugriwa ranku ring rat,
e. mandra prakoseng ngajurit,
f. Gotamaputra,
g. sudira sura sakti.

In English:

a. Is this the one known as Maesasura?
b. eh, fight me, this one,
c. who aids Dewa Indra,
d. Sugriwa is my name, famous throughout the world,
e. strongest in battle,
f. son of Gotama,
g. most resolute, courageous, and powerful.

As you can see, this is a song of challenge, and of righteous anger.

I hope that the examples and descriptions have provided you with a taste of traditional Javanese poetry and song. I have shown you the function, the intended reality each of these poems refer to, as well as some of the features that convey these realities in a beautiful manner.

ARTISTIC CANONS IN THE SYSTEM OF THE BOROBUDUR

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The term 'canon' possesses both positive and negative connotations. When they say 'this is done according to canons' about a work of art it may be an indication of its being restricted, limited and "in-between". At the same time, an evaluation of a work of art as canonic speaks of its high artistic value and of its being considered almost the materialization of the aesthetic ideal.

In the first case, the canon constitutes a rule involved in creating a work of art together with all non-artistic forms of consciousness. In the second one, the canon acquires an artistic quality; it lives and develops by intuition according to the laws of creative activity. The canon of this type has influence on the emotional consciousness of Man and thus proves to be inexhaustible to a researcher who makes an attempt to analyse it by way of its calculation, definition or singling out of the overall fabric of images. That is why one can speak about canonic features as well as about the materialization of canons in art.

Canonicity is not a permanent quality of art, although it is typical of the flowering of culture in former times in the Middle Ages. In the periods of decline the general canonicity of art changes in favour of restrictive canons while in those of cultural flowering any remarkable phenomenon of ancient or medieval art possesses canonic structures begotten by the aesthetic ideals of the time. These canonical structures incorporate the general ideas of the people about the world which are fixed in various social symbols, including mythological, cosmological, religious, philosophic etc. Those symbols find their expression in the systems of digits and proportions, combinations of colours and geometrical figures, in a certain symbolic meaning of sign-things and sign-pictures. As a whole, a blend of the artistic canons and the system of art imagery constitutes a result of the reworking of the overall canonic conceptions of an epoch in the process of creating a unique work of art.

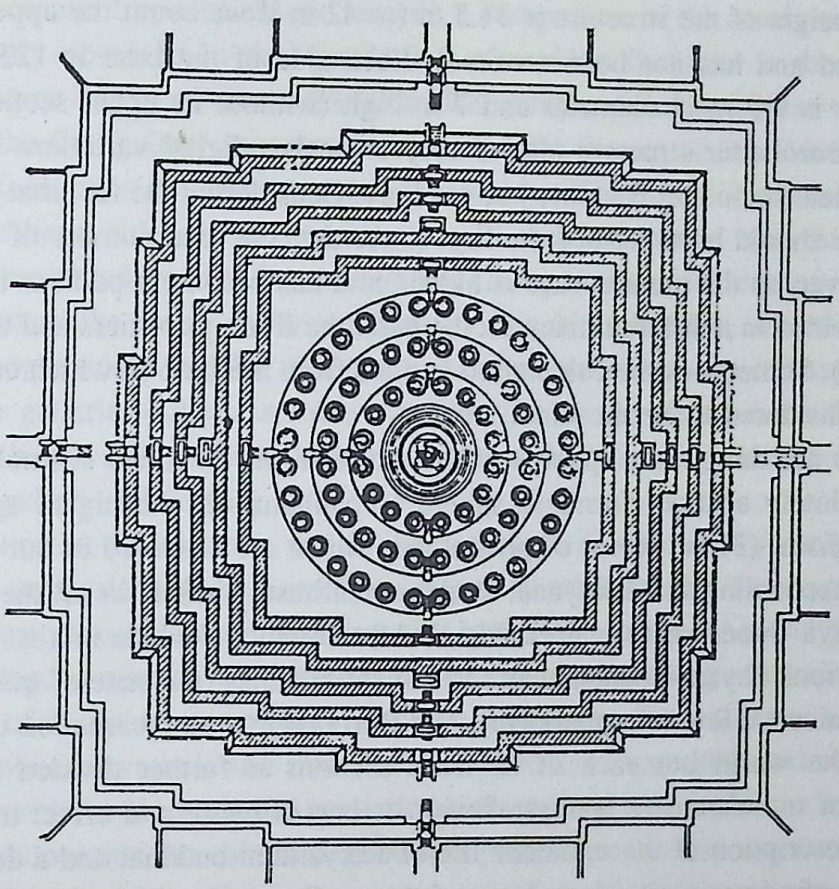
The Borobudur, a monument of Indonesian Buddhist architecture, was created in the period of hectic flowering of art in the central states of Java in the eighth and ninth centuries. The character and trends in the development of art in Indonesia and in the

majority of the countries of South-East Asia of that time were greatly influenced by their close commercial and cultural ties with India.

In considering the Borobudur as one of the Buddhist monuments of South-East Asia, it seems possible to say that it belongs to the characteristic type of later stupas deriving from certain forms of South Indian architecture, which were mostly built beyond India's territory. The difference between those stupas and the original classical Indian stupas, for example the famous stupa in Sanchi built in the third century B.C., lies in the shape of the main section of the temple which, instead of the regular hemisphere was fashioned as a bell and acquired the name of "dagoba". In addition, in South-East Asia and Sri Lanka the pedestal became domineering in the structure of a temple. As to the place of the Borobudur in the history of Indonesian architecture, this monument created immediately after the small Śaiva temples of the 7th-8th centuries A.D. naturally absorbed the forms of those religious buildings, especially as they were not built in absolute isolation from temple architecture of the adjacent countries of South-East Asia. So there are extensive links between the architectural ideas and forms of the Borobudur and those of India and South-East Asia.

Those links are primarily observed in the overall structure of the temple (fig.1): the Borobudur stands upon an high base, square in its plan (the square is the symbol of the Earth), which develops into a round upper section (the circle is the symbol of Heaven) and is crowned by a round pointed tower (in Buddhism, the dagoba is a symbol of the Buddha himself). Each side of the multi-stepped pyramidal base is cut through by a staircase making it possible to get to the foot of the central dagoba from the four sides. The vertical structure of the temple also symbolizes the Universe—the division of the world into three spheres.

In addition to a combination of simple geometrical figures (a square with a circle in the centre) the structure of the temple is based on a number of symbolic digital combinations. Those combinations can be varied, added up and multiplied but, as a whole, they correspond to the geometrical description of the model of the world deriving from the earliest cosmogonic conceptions: the four sides and the centre (4 plus 1), the division into the base, the centre, and the top (3). A further sophistication of that system may produce the following figures: $4 \times 2 + 1 = 9$, $3 \times 3 = 9$, etc. Here the figure 9 acquires a special meaning, as it is used both in the horizontal and the vertical model of the world.



Taking into account the overall typological features of early Indian cosmology and Buddhist iconography, the architects of Borobudur created their own model of a temple[1] which symbolizes the world.

In its present reconstructed shape Borobudur is a structure enclosing the top of a natural gently sloping hill. The square base is divided into a large solid section supporting the entire structure in the manner of a podium and five tier-steps with banisters decorated with towers, sculptures and reliefs. Next, there are three round concentric and perfectly smooth terraces with three rows of round towers—dagobas with latticed walls running along the edges of the terraces. In the centre, there is a big hollow dagoba with blank

[1]The word 'temple' is used here in a conventional sense. In Java, the majority of temples are connected with the funeral ritual (either Buddhist or Śaiva) and are called candi. The Borobudur, which does not possess any interior cells, is actually a monument for performing the Buddhist rite of pradakṣiṇā (circumambulation) and, for that reason, is rightly considered to be a stupa especially as it is almost a hemisphere in its overall shape.

walls. Supposedly, the central tower was crowned by three symbolic Buddhist umbrellas. The overall height of the structure is 31.5 m (or 42 m if we count the upper piece which was destroyed and has not been restored). Each side of the base is 123 m long. The central tower is 9.9 m in diameter and 7 m high (without its upper section).

The Borobudur structure allows very extensive digital variations traditional for the early Indian (including Buddhist) cosmology. Considering the fact that in the original plan the base should have formed the first lower tier, the total number of tiers was nine (6+3). However, as the present base is hidden and has become a podium the figure nine should be divided in a different manner: the base, the five square tiers and the three round ones (1+5+3). Sometimes the calculation is done from the base in which case the central dagoba is considered to be the ninth section.

There are three main spheres of the world in the Buddhist cosmological model: (1) the absolutely abstract formless sphere arūpadhātu; (2) the higher sphere of ideal forms, rūpadhātu; (3) the world of phenomena which are observed in our everyday life, kāmadhatu. According to Mahāyāna, Buddha manifests himself in all the three spheres of life (tri-kāya 'three bodies'): as earthly Buddha (Mānuṣi-Buddha in a state of nirmāṇa-kāya); as various dhyāni-bodhisattvas and dhyāni-buddhas (the state of sambhoga-kāya); and as the universal law (dharma-kāya). The Borobudur is an incarnation of all the three spheres of the world but each of its three sections is further divided into three: an incarnation of mundane life (saṁsāra) with its law of cause and effect transformations (karma); a description of the mundane life of Śākyamuni-buddha; and a description of a feasible way of emancipation from karma for an ordinary man (Prince Sudhana and other heroes). Here, there are also scenes from many jātakas and avadānas showing the previous lives of Buddha in which the preaching Buddha, as in parables, set the people on the 'right path'. That section occupies the hidden base and the first gallery.

Next, there is an incarnation of the second and higher sphere of life inhabited by various bodhisattvas and Buddhas. The third and fourth galleries depict the events connected with bodhisattvas, mainly Maitreya and Samantabhadra.

The third section, it seems, should have been devoid of any forms of life. However, the architects of the Borobudur made a very subtle interpretation of the 'vanishing visible world' by turning it into a logical conclusion of their images. This logical conclusion of the artistic system of the Borobudur is done by an imperceptible transition of the sculptural images into the architectural ones and then into a geometrical construction incarnating mathematical ratios and laws connected with abstract Buddhist symbols.

In addition to its vertical three-element cosmological model the Borobudur is based on a horizontal five-element model with a designation of the centre and four sides. This is primarily observed in the distribution of various Buddhas at the sides of the temple. The lower sphere of the world (kāmadhātu) represented by recess-towers on the balustrade of the first gallery accommodates the seated figures of four Mānuṣi-buddhas: Kanakamuni (eastern side), Kāśyapa (southern side), Śākyamuni (western side), and Maitreya (northern side).[2] The next three galleries constitute the middle sphere (rūpadhātu) represented by four dhyāni-buddhas sitting in the same kind of recess-towers at the four sides: the three eastern galleries—Akṣobhya-buddha, the three northern galleries—Amoghasiddhi-buddha; the three western galleries—Amitābha-buddha; the three southern galleries—Ratnasambhava-buddha. In the centre of those four buddhas there ought to be the fifth buddha, Vairocana. In the Borobudur system, he occupies the fourth square gallery, all its four sides.

The centre in the structure and in the pattern of distribution of sculptures of the Borobudur is emphasized three times: the central dhyāni-buddha Vairocana, the sixth Buddha Vajrasattva (usually symbolizing the invisible supreme Ādi-buddha) and the central stupa-dagoba with an umbrella-fashioned spire constituting a culmination of the entire system of Buddhist cosmogony symbols. However, there are obscurities in the system of Borobudur symbols and Buddhas which are due to a certain extent, to the fact that it is impossible to ascertain the presence or absence of a statue in the central stupa-dagoba. If we allow that the central dagoba was planned to be hollow, the role of Ādi-buddha could be played by Vajrasattva, who is half-covered from observation by the latticed walls of the seventy-two dagobas of the upper round tiers. In that case it was that Buddha (devoid of both the five senses and the five elements connecting dhyāni-buddhas and bodhisattvas with the mundane world) who represented the higher imperceptible sphere, arūpadhātu. If, however, the central dagoba had the statue of a Buddha which has not survived to this day, the seventh Buddha, according to the late Nepal-Tibetan system, could have been Vajradhara and the sixth Buddha, Vajrasattva, had an intermediate position and its statue half-covered from observation would symbolize the gradual vanishing of the visible world.

If we look at the system of dhyāni-buddhas from top to bottom it will be this: Ādi-buddha, dominating the dhyāni-buddhas, has no links with the world, he does not create

[2] It is here, in the interior side of the first gallery, that we observe the best and most important reliefs of Borobudur dealing with the life story of Gautama Śākyamuni, the mānuṣi-buddha of the present time.

anything nor have any deeds. Dhyāni-buddhas are his reflection and an ideal incarnation. They are also inactive but are the immediate and closest model for bodhisattvas. In contrast with Buddhas, the bodhisattvas are connected with the world helping the so-called dhyāni of any willing individual to attain holiness. There are five dhyāni-bodhisattvas corresponding to five dhyāni-buddhas.

In the Borobudur structure, that system finds its expression in the fact that in between the extreme opposites (the world of humans—the reliefs of the hidden basement; the world of the highest Buddha—the round towers with sculptures half-covered from view, the central stupa) there is a vast world of bodhisattvas and dhyāni-buddhas. As Buddhas are not directly linked with the world of humans, their statues are located on the outside of the balustrades and are hidden at a great height in the recesses. Bodhisattvas are linked with the world, and for that reason the reliefs with didactic stories from their lives are located on the inside of the balustrades at eye level.

The dualist combination of the interfluent spheres (heavenly and mundane) permeating the entire artistic structure of the Borobudur has much more to it than just a cosmological meaning. It is given its expression and interpretation not in an abstract relationship between the circle and the square but in creating specific worlds of images which are both complementary and opposed to each other. That is how the artistic canon of the Borobudur implements a distribution of emotional accents in the structure of the monument, appealing to the imagination and the sensual, mental, moral-religious and mythological consciousness of a spectator.

The inward coordination of the sections of the Borobudur is dominated by its overall artistic idea. The digital, geometrical and iconographic symbols take the form of artistic symbols. As a whole, all the canonic features turn into a high artistic canon in an integral body of the Borobudur and that canon sheds a different light on all the images of the monument whereby their abstract and symbolical meaning dissolves in the living flesh of art. It is a special pattern of canonic models, their 'materialization' or incarnation in the fabric of the work of art that is the essence of the artistic canon of the Borobudur which is meant to have an emotional appeal to the spectator.

In the system of the Borobudur, there is a difference between the characteristics of the round heavenly world and the square mundane one. That difference is based on appealing to different aspects of the spectator's imagination and reasoning.

At the very top, the foot of the central dagoba is locked by the three circles of tiers descending in a manner of three sloping steps. Seventy-two small dagobas arranged in rows at the edge of each circle give a special dynamic quality to the concentric

composition. There is an impression of a circular motion marked by the spikes of the spires and the angles of the small dagobas located close to each other at an even distance. There is an impression of motion: up and down, to and from the centre, in a circle—right and left and, at the same time, of total closedness, immobility and finality. The entire motion only exists in the anticipation, the visual perception and, in the final analysis, the mind of man. That is true of the round top of the Borobudur which symbolizes the Heaven. It is not just an ordinary circle but a whole system of circles, diametral and radial intersections, and ascending spires.

A compact section of the temple built in a clear-cut and austere manner rests upon an almost square base. The square base of the temple descends (in a far steeper way than the gently sloping upper terraces) to the foot of the temple—toward the evil and dark forces permeating the entire mundane life which is longing for purification and Heaven. There is almost no asceticism in the five square tiers which symbolize and incarnate the stages of purification, contemplation and meditation, rather than the earth. The small towers with stone Buddhas in their recesses look like islets surrounded by rich decorations of architectural details, arches, pilasters, fretted patterns and reliefs. There are shadows in the depth of the recesses projected by sharp angles and providing an additional pattern for the reliefs. Here they play a role which is opposite to that in the three upper tiers. There, it is always a logical and unambiguous extension of austere prescribed lines, here, seemingly a chaos covering the surface of a large, heavy but basically simple body symbolizing the earth.

The structure of the temple essentially requires a long observation of the entire monument in order to grasp its general idea. In order to reach the top in a literal and figurative sense one needs to walk through all the stages one after another, literally groping one's way, and by 'one's own experience' to learn all the stages of human spiritual elevation. However, there are also direct paths to the top which are constituted by four staircases in the middle of each side of the temple. Basically, however, the Borobudur is designed for a consecutive observation along all its galleries. It is only in this way that the temple would reveal all its riches and impress the observer with its artistic magnitude.

A tour of the temple starts from the foot of one of its staircases or, more exactly, from the eastern entrance.[3] The hidden reliefs on the wall of the general large base of the temple are dedicated to saṁsāra—the life of man as it is. In observing the scenes of

[3]Just as any other Buddhist stupa, the Borobudur seems to have been designed for pradakṣiṇā—a ceremonial round of the temple. The round always started from the eastern and was made clockwise.

mundane life, the moral exploits and crimes, the pictures of Heaven or punishment in Hell (including good and bad reincarnations) the spectator travels all the circles of his mundane life with familiar sorrows and overriding hopelessness.

As is suggested by several dozens of scenes opened up during restorations, the hidden reliefs possess a great plasticity and a rather intensive and gentle modelling of the half-naked bodies. There is a number of expressive and very dramatic scenes but their combination with other scenes marked by light and peace creates a closed circle in which an infinite alternation of tension and relaxation gives a spectator an impression of hopelessness.

There is a break after the acquaintance with the first saṁsāra scenes: there are only single figures—presumably those of heavenly dwellers, heavenly dancers and musicians—on the exterior wall of the first tier with a high balustrade.

Walking upstairs from the base to the first tier a visitor reaches an open gallery locked between a high balustrade with recess-towers at its upper edge and the wall of the second tier. After relaxing and purifying the soul off the images evoked by saṁsāra it is logical to turn to the scenes of the mundane life of the Buddha who came to the world as a pure and spiritually strong Prince Siddhārtha Gautama of the Śākya family. The ancient Greeks took pride in the man, the royal beauty of the human spirit and body. The same feeling of pride for a happy, peaceful, physically and spiritually pure man might also have been relished by Indonesian artists. The images of Prince Gautama, who became a Buddha, are treated with such an immaculate purity that all the one hundred and twenty reliefs dealing with the life-story of Buddha are filled with light which permeates and sanctifies the mundane flesh of the human body.

A combination of a single rhythm of the composition with individual movement of each figure, of canonicity of general forms with a freedom of expression observed in the details constitutes the high style of Borobudur reliefs. Rhythm is assigned a very special role here. It never looks like a deliberate artistic device. In Borobudur reliefs, the beauty of rhythm seems to be a natural quality of matter without which both movement and relationships between living creatures would be unthinkable. The meaning of a scene also depends on rhythm. That explains why there is so much seclusion and mystery in the Buddha in the sky of Tuṣita, so much earthly regal pride in Queen Māyā going to the Lumbinī park, so much gentle harmony in the scene of Śākyamuni Buddha's ablutions.

The relief 'Buddha's Ablutions' is in a poor condition: parts of figures in the upper row have been lost which creates a slightly fragmented impression of the relief as a whole. However, even the fragments of that scene are sufficient to produce the impres-

sion of the integrity of the divine and mundane principles which is radiated by Buddha standing in the water, the aquatic Nāga deities on their bent knees, a sheep with a lamb browsing on the leaves of the bush and the overall pastoral gaiety of the toy rocks, the round crowns of the trees and the flowers falling down from Heaven. Buddha is the son of both man and God. He possesses purity despite his being made of flesh and is close to all living things despite his essentially divine nature.

The idea of proximity to God, his accessibility and intelligibility constitutes an alluring principle of the entire complex religio-hierarchical system of the Borobudur. It should bring an observer into a state of divine prostration which is followed by the Great Nothing (Śūnyatā). It is to the credit of the Indonesian artists that they did it with a striking pursuasion and completeness which are typical of life itself. The sculptors of the Borobudur, who wanted to give a spectator the pleasure of observing nature, beautiful bodies and perfect movements, created a whole galaxy of magnificent images living and acting in the confines of mundane life.

It is not only the figure of the perfect Buddha, but any of the other figures, especially those of women and young men, that are represented in all their perfection. There are magnificent women in the scene of selecting a bride for Prince Siddhārtha in which he presents his betrothed with a ring. But they are just as attractive in the scene of their night sleep although that scene has an opposite meaning: looking at the women in their sleep the prince realizes the transient nature of beauty just as of anything else. One of the most full-blooded and unsophisticated images is that of the peasant girl Sujātā giving a vessel with food to the monk Śākyamuni. In that scene which involves a small number of characters the artist's attention is exclusively focused on the plasticity, completeness and closedness of each individual figure.

Women standing, sitting, on their knees, dancing, figures depicted from all possible angles constitute an invaluable set of images filling the heart of the spectator with gratitude and thrilling him with joy. At the same time, there is so much pure nobility and quiet confidence in the movements of the women that the joy of their observation imperceptibly turns into a pious contemplation of the entire harmony of the world.

Thus, the description of Buddha's life in the reliefs of the Borodubur shows the birth of faith in the depth of man's intensively sensual emotions. Prince Siddhārtha's transition into a state of Buddha is the development of man into a philosopher withdrawing from life in order to have a better comprehension of it. That is why the entire Borobudur is dedicated to that "withdrawal". The plastic art of sculpture is, of course, better equipped for depicting the first half of such "withdrawal". A sculptor is able to

realize beautiful harmony in his art in such a way that it would not depend on the will of an observer but subdue him by taking him away from sensual-destructive desires to an increasingly purified and passive attitude to the world. However, an excessive withdrawal of sculpture from real life deprives it of its strength and effectiveness as was the case with Antaeus. It is not surprising, then, that the plastic perfection of Borobudur images is manifest in the most earthly and human themes.

The reliefs of the second, third and fourth galleries deal with the life of bodhisattvas. Those reliefs do not possess the beauty of plastic forms of the first gallery. The plastic forms here are more austere, reserved and schematic and the compositions are more rational and geometrical. Narrative scenes are replaced by an infinite number of those concerned with sermons, disputes and conversations with disciples.

The flatest, sketchiest and most schematic reliefs are those of the fourth gallery. Their rationalism is so great that figures of secondary importance are smaller in size than the main figures, the characters are placed in rigidly outlined cells and representation of trees, flowers and animals becomes geometrical to the extent of abstraction. The only link between those images and the throbbing flesh tied to the earth, to the wall of the temple symbolizing here the earth, is an expressive character of line. Thoughts about Samantabhadra (the hero of the fourth gallery) who, in the Javanese version of Mahāyāna, had a mission of the last future Buddha, went further and further away from the destiny of living Śākyamuni-Buddha.

After getting out of the galleries with high walls on to the round open platforms with latticed dagoba towers the observer, as it were makes an ascension into the highest sphere in which all real forms lose any meaning whatsoever and vanish.

Thus man's ascension to the highest world of ideas occurs via his apprehension of narrative scenes shown in the reliefs; those scenes gradually lose their plastic and sensual attractiveness and vividness. The reliefs are mostly linked with mundane life and actions designed to help people reach self-salvation. The reliefs, which slightly protrude from stone of which the 'mundane' square base of the temple is made, produce an impression of being made of the same material as everything living on earth. They are visions that may vanish just as they have appeared. The reliefs are almost comparable to a theatrical performance for an observer's sake, a performance with plot, action and different characters. By perceiving and emotionally reacting to the relief scenes the observer, without (noticing) it, submits himself to the force of the canon hidden in those scenes. In that sense the artistic canon can be described as a canon that has been experienced.

In addition to reliefs, however, there are round sculptural decorations in the Borobudur. Whereas the reliefs only half-protrude from stone, as though being called from non-existence only temporarily, to convey the ideas of time, motion and development, the round sculpture, in contrast, is more solid. It possesses a finality in space and is enclosed in itself. That is why even in the 'midst of mundane life', i.e. in the lowest galleries, the figures of seated Buddhas are placed in recesses with tower-fashioned tops. They are supposed to symbolize isles of holiness and unshakeable spirit in a changing world of mundane passions and spiritual wonderings. In contrast to the reliefs, the round sculpture is an incarnation of a higher state of spirit withdrawn from mundane life and everything chaotic and transient. That spiritually exalted world exists aside from and also simultaneously with the mundane world but does not mix with it, though penetrates it. That is the meaning of the relationship between the reliefs and the round sculpture in the Borobudur.

The Buddhist doctrine is distinguished by its striving after total seclusiveness and, at the same time, utmost openness, a fusion with all and vanishing in that all. That world philosophy of Buddhism is incarnated in the entire mass and clear-cut structure of the Borobudur, tier after tier up to the top of the spire of its central dagoba. Here, the two opposite principles of the universe are combined to form a single system of concrete-sensual images and abstract-logical models and symbols. There is a gradual transition from the massive base to the slim needle of the spire which seems to vanish completely in the air.

So, the complex structure of the Borobudur with its mutually intertwining individual systems may be treated as a specific canonical text constituted by an original combination of the traditional, prescribed and regularly recurrent elements.

However, the uniqueness and aesthetic value of the Borobudur lies not in its final and overall symbolism of genuine cognition of the truth, but in the process of emotional assimilation of that truth via its images that occurs inside the Borobudur. The system of feelings and emotions and, primarily, their progressive development and change are to lead an observer to such a state of his soul when the wisdom of the world (the Buddhist world, in this case) becomes perfectly visible, deciphered and intensely experienced.

The canon which, at first sight, seems to be lying on the surface, easily detachable and readable as a cosmogonic model, acquires the meaning of an artistic canon only in the forms of art itself—in architectural structures, decorations, the character of reliefs, their combination with sculptures in the round, change in their style and content etc.

The development of the organic life of Borobudur's artistic images occurs according to cosmogonic and iconographic Buddhist canons. The canon becomes artistic, the images canonical. The artistic canon seems to be prescribed by the canonical structure borrowed from other spheres of intellectual perception of the world, but, it is that canon that lends a quality of grandeur to the Borobudur.

OLD JAVANESE VERB STRUCTURE

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Linguistic study of Old Javanese (OJ) lies at present far behind the progress achieved in the field of OJ literature and culture, the field to which the late Dr. Sharada Rani made such a valuable contribution. Meanwhile careful linguistic analysis of OJ is indispensable in more than one aspect. Not only does it enrich the general linguistic theory and leads to a more profound understanding of the history of Indonesian languages. It is also "beneficial for the interpretation of Old Javanese literary texts, which at present is forced to come up with *ad hoc* solutions in the absence of a deeper knowledge of morphological and syntactical regularities" (Uhlenbeck 1983:22).

The lack of attention to OJ linguistics is especially obvious as concerns grammar. By now the most substantial grammatical treatise of the OJ language is still the book of P.J.Zoetmulder issued for the first time forty years ago (1950,[1] subsequently abbreviated Z). Being based on a solid foundation of factual data of the OJ Ādiparwa and full of shrewd observations and comparisons with New Javanese, this work, as was pointed out by E.M.Uhlenbeck in his review, sometimes lacks a systematic approach particularly as regards the OJ verb (Uhlenbeck 1952:309). Indeed Zoetmulder did not intend to write a text-book, therefore providing his monograph with a subtitle "A grammatical study of OJ". True, he made a more streamlining exposition of his results in a text-book for Indonesian students (Zoetmulder et al. 1954), still preserving the plan and contents of his Dutch original. The same line of explanation in a simplified form was generally followed in several text-books issued by Indonesian authors.

In this paper I should like to touch upon the problem of morphological categories of the OJ verb, being the central part of grammar. To put this problem in a systemic frame of grammatical notions, concepts and terminology one is compelled to sometimes abandon the scheme of reasoning and the order of exposure of data accepted so far. Our task is much facilitated by another great achievement of Zoetmulder, his OJ-English dictionary (Zoetmulder et al. 1982, subsequently abbreviated ZD). A large volume of

[1]Reprinted in 1983 with a number of corrections. This reprint was regretfully not used by me.

lexical data and profuse quotational material are a challenge for further exploration of all aspects of OJ grammar. Of much interest in this connection are also the organization of entries and the introduction to the dictionary, putting at our disposal a more complete picture of the affixation and supplying some modification of terminology. Illustrative examples I quote below are excerpts from Z, ZD and from Tantri Kāmandaka (subsequently abbreviated TK, Hooykaas 1931).

By categories we mean those of accidence, or inflection, constituted by opposition of two or more grammatical forms. These forms generally do not change the lexical meaning of words that are in possession of the category in question. Such are, for instance, categories of case and number for nouns, of tense and person for verbs in Sanskrit and other old Indo-European languages. Each language has its own repertoire of grammatical categories, some of them being specific for certain grammatical word-classes.[2]

Voice, active and passive. The first category described in Z. in the chapter on verbals (toevoegingswoorden, litt. supplement form, p.37) and describes the passive (p.48 sqq.). The passive forms are possible with transitive verbs only, while these latter are defined on semantic grounds: these verbs normally require as their complement a designation of a goal of action (p.34). In another place we find, however, a definition of "genuine transitive verbs". Here they are defined on morphological grounds: these verbs have certain affixes: a nasal prefix (*m*) *aN-* or prefix-infix *-in-*. Besides, they are apt to be conversed into the passive (p.123).

(M)aN- (Z.'s *(m)a-* with nasalization) is the designation for a prefix that has varieties (i) with various nasal consonants (*m, n, ng, ñ*) that are chosen according to the first sound of the base (*ng* before vowels, *m* replacing *p* etc.), (ii) with the initial (*m*) present or absent by uncertain reasons, e.g. *angaji, mangaji* 'to read and study texts' from the base *aji* 'sacred text'. ZD gives mostly the initial *aN-* in subentries, the other variety is sometimes found in the examples.

-(U)m- is a designation for infix or prefix depending on the initial sound of the base: it is prefixed before vowels and labial consonants (absorbing the latter) and sometimes loosing initial (*u*)- vowel, else it is infixed after other consonants: *bintur-umintur* 'to catch', *dilat* 'tongue' *-dumilat* 'to lick'.

The difference between *(m)aN-* and *-(u)m-* affixes as active voice markers is not clear, too. While A.S.Teselkin (obviously following H.Kern) found some semantic difference between the two affixes, Z. considers them to be equivalent (Teselkin 1963:50;Z 38). Both affixes can serve for derivation, too, forming intransitive verbs. From one and

the same base various distributive patterns of these affixes occur. The most usual patterns seem to be the following:

Distribution of *(m)aN-* and *-(u)m-* affixes between accidence and derivation (frequent patterns)

Accidence (active voice V_{tr})		Derivation (V_{intr})		
(m)aN-	*-(u)m-*	*(m)aN-*	*-(u)m-*	
+	+	–	–	(1).
–	+	–	–	(2)
+	–	–	+	(3)
–	+	–	+	(4)

(1) *-pangan-amangan, umangan* 'to eat', (2) *-gawe-gumawe* 'to make', (3) *-ulah-angulah* 'to perform', *molah* 'to move', (4) *-alang -(u)malang* 'to lie across'; 'to obstruct'.

If omittance of some forms is not to explain by chance, thus not very much distorting the real picture, then we can judge by Table 1, that *-(u)m-* is more used as derivational, than *(m)aN-*, that is less productive in V_{intr}.

As we saw in the above, the two definitions of transitivity and voice are circular, and transitive verbs are defined on different criteria. According to the morphological definition, some verbs, which, still requiring a semantic goal, but disposing of no morphological features in question, as e.g. *wruh* 'to know', are not transitive proper.

For the moment we let pass this controversy, as one of the aims of this paper is to contribute to the definition of transitiveness suitable for OJ. To demonstrate the category of voice one shall be contented with the most unquestionable examples of V_{tr}:

(1) From the base *-pangan* 'to eat':

(1a) *si baka umangan ikang matsya* (TK 124) 'The heron has eaten the fishes'.

(1b) *anaknya kalih pinangan de sang Pāpaka* (TK 156)'Both of her children were eaten by the Villain'.

(2) From the base *-ibĕrakĕn* 'to cause to fly along, to carry along by air'[4]:

(2a) *nghulun umibĕrakĕneri (=umibĕrakĕn-a-iri) kita* (TK 114)[5] 'We shall carry you along by air (lit. cause to fly you along)'.

(2b) *Inibĕrakĕnya tang yuyu denya si baka* (TK 124) 'The crab was carried through the air by the heron' (lit. caused to fly along).

[4]Some glosses from ZD here and further are somewhat modified to render the grammatical meaning more exactly.

[5]In brackets are placed the words that are contracted in the text according to sandhi rules.

In these examples the idea of voice category is quite lucid, viz. (1) both verbs require two semantic arguments, an Actor (he who eats, who causes to fly along) and a Goal (he that is eaten, caused to fly along), (2) either verb can be used in two constructions, active and passive, without change of its lexical meaning, (3) these constructions are marked morphologically by certain affixes of the verb, the infix/prefix *-in-* being the passive marker. We shall return to the discussion of the voice category in more details below. Now one should mention that OJ, as well as some closely related languages of Java-Sumatra region, has two passives, which were labelled by Z as actional and stative (p. 50). While the former is marked by the infix/prefix *-in-*, the latter uses the prefix *ka-*: *tinon* 'to be seen', *katon* 'visible', *tinĕkan* 'to be attacked', *katĕkan* 'to be in the possession of so'. The latter example of Z shows that *ka*-passive has potential for change of the lexical meaning, so that there is doubt about the liability of *ka*-passive forms to be included in the paradigm of the voice, although ZD places both passive forms under the same entry as active ones, e.g. *anĕsĕl, sumĕsĕl, sinĕsĕl, kasĕsĕl* 'to reproach, blame' from *sĕsĕl* 'reproach'. *Ka*-passives seem to be derivatives built from V_{tr} rather than accidence forms of these verbs. Anyway, the voice category really exists in OJ.

Mood. Another category of verb is that of mood. Actually Z does not use the term mood, neither any other term for forms labelled arealis and imperative (noteworthy dealt with not in the part on morphology, but in that on syntax, p.150 sqq.). I shall substitute the former term for irrealis, following Uhlenbeck 1987:700, as arealis draws some incidental association.

Imperative and irrealis are the forms in opposition to those that serve as examples in the above statements on voice; the quoted examples by virtue of such an opposition need a special term. Let us use the term indicative for the forms that are neither imperative nor irrealis. Indicative, imperative and irrealis constitute the category of mood (in ZD only indicative forms are given in sub-entries, the other two forms being quoted in the examples, see ZD p.XV).

The relationship between the voice and the mood deserves our attention. For transitive verbs the constructions with imperative forms are attested as passive in Z. This assertion is quite correct, albeit not so much owing to foregrounding of the Goal, as Z states (p.164), as by the fact that the designation of the Actor has the same appearance as in passive indicative, particularly with the preposition *de* and its variants:

3. *warah kami denta* (TK 180) 'Tell us/it,/o/Śisyapa! (lit. be told we by you)'.
4. *i kita kabeh, lah tunggwani denta iki sang Nandaka* (TK 68)'You both, keep watch over Nandaka! (lit. be kept watch by you)'.

5. *Yan mati pwa ya, tunu ika denta* (TK 68-70) 'If he dies, burn him (lit. be burnt it by you)'.

There is no special form for imperative active as concerns transitive verbs.

As for irrealis, it disposes of both voices, active and passive:

6. From the base *-tunu* 'to burn':

6a. *kinon-ira ta sang balādhika tumunwa sang bhūpati* (ZD 2067) 'Were ordered by him the excellent soldiers to burn the king'.

6b. *tinunwa-nya ika-ng alas* (TK 154) 'By him (=by the fire) the wood was to be burnt (=The fire should burn the wood)'.

6b'. *tunun* (=*tunu-ĕn*) *ya ta-ng kayu mĕne* (TK 72) 'Let the firewood be burnt immediately'.

7. From the base *-tut* 'to follow':

7a. *tumuta kami paranta* (TK 90) 'We shall follow your way'.

7b. *ika yogya tutĕn den Parameśwara* (TK 50) 'This deserves to be followed by Your Majesty'.

Nominalized verbals. The next category that should be got across is that of dependency, or nominalization, denoting that the verb in question is subordinated syntactically to another word (full or function word), which has a semantic valence to be filled with that word. These forms with the prefix *paN-* and the circumfix *ka-an* are classed by Z among substantives (noemwoorden, litt. naming words) with predicative meaning of action or a state: *panaḍah* 'the eating' from *manaḍah* 'to eat', *kacaritan* '(the fact of) being told' (p.63 sq., p.77) from *cumarita* 'to tell, narrate'.

Delineating a formal difference between verbals and nouns (substantives) in OJ presents a separate problem that is not yet solved. The division into substantives (naming words) and verbals (supplement words) proposed in Z is based on our ability to distinguish the main parts of a sentence, the subject and the predicate, which by themselves are by no means formally determinable.

It is true, that substantives are often preceded by articles, particularly by article *ng* and by the marker of attributive relation *ni*, or by the preposition *i*, also by its variant *ri* or by combination of both *iri*. But all these noun-escort devices are also compatible with a verbal, if this latter is used in a syntactic position of a noun, e.g. that of a complement, as was specially pointed out in Z (p.121-122). This fact compels us to admit that the interpretation of the *paN-* forms should depart from their morphological opposition against verbals.

Some *paN-* forms can be attested as nominalizations in proper sense, that is filling in the position of a complement, or of a subject, or another typically nominal slot:

8. *matang yan panĕmbah ni nghulun ri kita* (Z 223) 'That is the cause of my respectful appeal to you' (from the verb *anĕmbah,* base *-sĕmbah* 'to address respectfully').

In some other contexts, however, these forms replace a verbal predicate, occupying the predicate position of a subordinate clause, e.g. after the syntactical function word *an*:

9. *an panĕmu wyādhi, niyata hetu ni-ng swastha* (Z 183) 'If you meet with a disease, it is definitely a cause of health' (verb *anĕmu* 'to meet').

Sometimes *paN-* forms follow the negation (Z p.143 sqq.), while retaining its predicative function. In such contexts *paN-* forms are not recognized in Z as instances of nominal metamorphosis of verbs, being just considered a kind of affix-change (denasalization of an affix), see p.143 sqq., 237 sqq. Actually the term nominalization we use here should be interpreted in a broad sense, since not all instances of *paN-* forms have a nominal syntactic function. Still this term may be maintained, as we bear in mind that the use after conjunctions and after negative particles does have some historical affinity to nominalization proper (on negatives see my note: Ogloblin 1986).

Voice and nominalization. Category of nominalization is interconnected with that of voice in the way that the *paN-* forms being active have their passive counterparts with the circumfix *ka-an: umalap* 'to take' *-kālapan* '(the fact of) being taken'. These *ka-an-* forms are described in Z in the same chapter as substantives with *paN-* prefix (p.75 sqq.). In ZD they are mostly included into subentries of verbs together with *paN-* forms. Both are designated verbal substantives, active (avs) and passive (pvs). E.g. from the base *-wawa*:

verbal forms	nominalized forms
amawa 'to carry along, to bring'	*pamawa* '(the fact of) bringing, carrying along'
(*u*)*mawa* idem	
winawa 'to be carried along'	
kawawa (mostly lexicalized meanings)' carried (in)to — to reach unintentionally, get into'	*kawawan* '(the fact of) being carried along, brought'

The passive nominalized forms are evidently less productive than the active ones, and their contextual scope is more limited. This is perhaps due to morphological conformity between them and a certain subclass of passive verbals, that are for the most

part derived from verbs with the suffix *-i*: *ang-hudan-i* 'to rain on (st.)' *-ka-hudan-an* 'to be rained upon, to stay out in the rain' (ZD p.646), *těka* 'to come, reach' *-anĕkani* 'to attain,obtain' *-katĕkan* 'reached by st.' → 'to suffer, undergo; to succeed, to win'. Consequently the opposition between pvs and passive verbals is not so evident as between avs (*paN-* forms) and active verbs. As was pointed out in the above, the opposition "noun vs. verbal" is not definable syntactically. Now and then one may doubt if a case of *ka-an* derivative in text is a nominalization or a verbal, taking into account that the latter can perfectly well occur in a nominal position:

10. *Engĕt pwa sang Indra ri kapanasan ika-ng dewāsura de ni-ng api* (Z 78) 'The god Indra realized, how gods and asuras were heated up by the fire' (*kapanasan* 'to be heated' or else 'the fact of being heated, from *umanasi* 'to heat', the root base *panas* 'heat').

Mood and nominalization. Generally the relationship to the category of mood extends beyond the limits of verbal class as concerns irrealis, imperative forms being restricted by this class. Indeed, irrealis forms in OJ can be built not only from verbals, but from substantives as well. Thus nominalized forms are also in principle subject to irrealis suffixation. *PaN-* forms in irrealis are by no means rare. Cf. *pějah* 'to die' *-pějaha* 'will die', *ratu* 'king' *-ratwa* 'the would-be king'; *paweh* 'gift' (from *maweh* 'to give', morphologically intransitive) *-paweha* 'the would-be, possible gift' (Z p.150). Some textual examples:

(11) From the verb *amukti* 'to enjoy':

(11a) *Ika-ng wwang menak pamukti-nya ri-ng kawiśwāsa* (TK 178) 'the people who find pleasure in enjoying power' (...), lit. the people/of whom/pleasant/ is/their enjoyment of power (...)

(11b) *Ndan pamuktya ni nghulun sama kalawan samanya janma kabeh* (TK 18) 'But my (possible) enjoyments are equal with those of all people'.

Compare the same lexemes in verbal forms:

(11c) *ika ta sākṣāt mamukti swarga* (TK 48) 'As if he enjoys the paradise'.

(11d) *Mamuktya ramya nikang alas* (TK 88) 'Let /us / enjoy the beauty of the forest'.

An example of *paN-* form in indicative and irrealis in the same sentence:

12. *Pangawruha ni-ng kula, cāra juga; bhaṣa umintonakĕn ika pangawruh ri-ng deśanya* (TK 108) 'The (possible) knowledge about one's family is /provided by/ the manners; the language provides (lit. shows) the knowledge about one's land/ of origin/' (*wruh* 'to know' *-kawruh* 'knowledge' *-angawruhi* to know, discover'

-pangawruh 'knowledge; the way or the quality by which one can recognize so. or st.').

On the contrary, irrealis forms built from *ka-an* pvs are not very reliable, because of the same ambivalency of nominal syntactical position in the sentence, that can be filled both by nouns and by verbals. An example in Z is a probable case of such use:

13. *Sinĕgĕhan ta sira bhojana salwir ika-ng yogya pamūjā ri sira mwang sayogya katĕkāna nira* (Z 78, see also ZD 1977) 'They were treated to all the meal that is proper for paying honour to them and proper for being received by them' (*katĕkāna* 'would/can obtain, receive', lit. 'reached by').

The existence of *ka-an* irrealis forms is problematic and requires further investigation.

Transitive verbs paradigm. From what was just briefly surveyed one might propose the following scheme of the paradigm of transitive verbs.

Table 2. The structure of paradigm of V_{tr}

Verbs			Nominalized verbs	
indicative active (1)	—	irrealis active (4)	indicative active (6)	irrealis active(8)
indicative passive (2)	imperative (3)	irrealis passive (5)	indicative passive (7)	irrealis passive? (9)

Illustrations to this table: (1) *umangan, mamukti,* (2) *pinangan,* (3) *tunu,* (4) *tumunwa, mamuktya,* (5) *tunun, tinunwa,* (6) *pamukti,* (7) *kālapan,* (8) *pamuktya,* (9) Cf. examples above.

Table 3. Paradigmatic scheme of affixation (root base transitive verbs)

	Verbs			Nominalized verbs	
Active	Indicative -(u)m- R (m)aN- R	Imperative —	Irrealis -(u)m-R-a (m)aN-R-a	Indicative paN-R	Irrealis paN-R-a
Passive	-in- R	R	R -ĕn -in-R-a	ka-R-an	ka-R-an-a?

In case of verb bases including affixes the exponents of the same grammatical forms are partly different. The main modifications of the above root base pattern can be

consulted in Z and other sources. For instance, the suffix *-i* is changed for the suffix *-an* in passive forms and in irrealis forms, before the irrealis suffix *-a*. The suffix *-ĕn* does not apply, being replaced by *-an-a* combination of suffixes. The passive infix-prefix *-in-* is as a rule absent in irrealis forms.

Table 4. Paradigmatic scheme of affixation for V_{tr} with the suffix-i

	Verbs			Nominalized verbs	
	Indicative	Imperative	Irrealis	Indicative	Irrealis
Active	-(u)m-R-i- (m)aN-R-i	—	-(u)m-R-an-a (m)aN-R-an-a	paN-R-i	paN-R-an-a
Passive	-in-R-an	R-i	(-in-)R-an-a	ka-R-an	ka-R-an-a?

I don't illustrate this scheme, as all examples can be located in Z (particularly, p.238). Of course this and other paradigms connected with certain affixal types of verbal bases need a more thorough analysis.

Voice and transitivity. We return now, before concluding these notes, to the problem of the OJ passive and its relationship to the concept of transitivity. In reconsidering the OJ passive we shall depart from the general theory of voice developed at the Leningrad typological school founded in the early 1960's by the late A.A.Kholodovitch. This theory distinguishes between the concepts of diathesis and voice. Diathesis is a scheme of correspondence between semantic and syntactic units in the sentence. Among so many approaches to identification of units of both kinds this theory chooses the most simple and traditional one, which is rather close to that revealing itself in Z.

In the sphere of semantics are discerned: the Actor (Agent), the Goal and, with certain verb classes, the Second Goal. These units are presupposed by the lexical meaning of the verb, being the arguments of a predicate, or the participants of the situation denoted by the verb in question, e.g. 'to eat' (Actor and Goal), 'to give' (Actor, Goal and Second Goal). Compare primary and secondary goals in Z, p.123-124.

On the plane of syntax not less traditional units are distinguished as Subject, Object and Second Object (indirect or prepositional).

Combinations of units of both kinds produce a series of correspondences, each of them being a separate diathesis[6]. The active diathesis is characterized by correspondence

[6]Cf. the more extended definition: "The diathesis of any verbal form in any sentence can be most exactly defined as the correlation between the complex of the semantic meanings of the elements of the role structure

Actor=Sb (John eats an apple), passive diatheses use as a Sb the Goal or the 2nd Goal (A book is given by John to Mary, Mary is given a book by John).

As for voice, it is according to Kholodovitch, "grammatically marked diathesis" in the morphological structure of the verb[7]. As we have seen, OJ disposes of such morphological markers: *-um-/aN-* and *-in-* resp. for active and passive.

Now, what is essential for characterizing verbal voice structure is maintaining of the same set of semantic units, which is a prerequisite for preservation of the verbal meaning.

From this point of view, OJ passive *-in-* marker has two different functions.

In the first place, as stated in the above, it marks the passive diathesis (Goal=Sb or 2nd Goal=Sb). In (1ab) both Actor and Goal are maintained with the active and passive forms of the verb *-pangan* 'to eat'. These semantic units are still maintained with all other grammatical forms of the same verb being the members of the verbal paradigm.

Quite another picture one sees in instances where the passivization with the same marker *-in-* implies the increase of the set of participants presupposed by the verbal meaning. As a matter of fact, this marker is used not only with transitive verb bases. It can also apply to intransitive bases, or, what is more, to substantives, thus producing a new verb with modified semantic structure, as its valence potential increases by one argument.

Two types of such a change can be stated.

The first type of increasing valence is the causative. The new verb with the passive marker presupposes two arguments: the Actor and the Goal and means 'to cause X', where X is the state or an action denoted by the basic verbal (actional, stative or qualitative). The basic verbal or substantive (the latter either endowed with predicative meaning, or as used in the function of predicate) presupposes only one argument. See the following pairs of basic and derived verbals from ZD: *putih* 'white' *-pinutih* 'made (painted) white', *a-hayu* 'good' *-hinayu* 'well arranged, made beautiful', *siwak* 'split, cleft' *-siniwak* 'to be split, cleft', *hila* 'abstinence' *-hinila* 'to be considered forbidden', *durjana* 'evil-doer, villain' *-dinurjana* 'to be regarded as an evil-doer', *bhasma* 'ashes' *-bhinasma*

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characteristic of the lexeme of the given verbal form, and the complex of syntactic meanings of the elements of the sentence structure which constitute the environment of a given verbal form" (Khrakovsky 1979:290). Diathesis is present in any verbal construction, even in the languages that lack verb morphology as e.g. Old Chinese.

[7]"The voice is the diathesis grammatically marked in the verb" (Kholodovitch 1979:284). See also Khrakovsky 1979:291.

'reduced to ashes, destroyed', *gajah* 'elephant' *-ginajah* '(formed) in the shape of an elephant'. We cannot exclude the possibility that the active forms did not occur in the texts which served as the corpus for ZD and therefore were not attested in it (such as *ˣ(m)amutih, ˣ(m)anghayü* etc.) But this is not very probable, in respect of the most common lexica. Besides, in some cases there exist intransitive verbals derived with aid of the same *(m)aN-* and *-um-* affixes (cf. Table 1): *alih* 'moving to another place' *-(u)malih, angalih* 'to move to another place' (intr.) *-inalih* 'to move, remove, transfer' (tr.), *silir* 'moving gently (subst.)' *-sumilir* 'to move gently' *-sinilir* 'to be blown away, carried along'; *kidung* 'song' *-angidung* 'to sing' *-kinidung* 'made into a song'. It is just plausible that transitive (active) homonyms to such intransitive verbals should not exist.

Sometimes the active and passive forms both are known, but they use their common base for derivation semantically different: *kĕmbang* 'flower' *-angĕmbang* 'to worship with flowers' *-kinĕmbang* 'made with a flower pattern'.

Another type of increasing verb valence may be called deabsolutive, or applicative. The basic verbal presupposes two arguments, one of them being weak, with no obligatory use in the sentence. E.g. *tumurun* 'to descend' (Actor—he who descends, Goal (locative)— the place from which one descends). The derivated verb presupposes two arguments both of which are strong viz. omittable only in anaphoric use: *tinurun* 'to be descended to, to be attacked': *tangis* 'weeping, tears' *-tinangis* 'to be addressed with tears, to be wept for'; *harṣa* 'desire' *-hinarṣa* 'to be desired'; *takwan* 'question' *-tinakwan* 'to be enquired of'.

In the sentence structure the verbs of increased valence just described have the feature of the same passive diathesis as the "pure" passive verbs:

(14a) *katon tang mukha tumumpĕk* (Z 2061) 'Visible are the faces hanging upside-down' (intransitive).

(14b) *śūdra weśya dinĕṇḍa jinarah tinumpĕk* (ibid.) 'Śūdras and weśyas are beaten, looted and knocked upside-down'.

Thus the passive marker *-in-* of such derivatives has combined, syncretic function, not only that of derivation of the new verb, but also of marking the passive diathesis with Goal-Subject correspondence.

The existence of such passive tantum verbs has its consequences for definition of transitivity in OJ. Generally this definition cannot be based upon the ability to passive conversion which is also permitted for intransitives. In this respect OJ seems to reveal its affinity to Philippine languages.

Many other facets of the OJ verb structure still need their exploration and restatement in the light of new factual evidence and new theoretical conceptions. These brief notes are just a slight attempt of a more systematic approach to this interesting theme.

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ABBREVIATIONS

avs—active verbal substantive
pvs—passive verbal substantive
so.—someone
st.—something
subst.—substantive
V_{intr}—intransitive verb(al)
V_{tr}—transitive verb
TK—Hooykaas 1931
Z—Zoetmulder 1950
ZD—Zoetmulder et al. 1982

HINDUISM AND ECONOMICS

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I. *Definition of religion according to Hinduism. Mokṣārtham jagaddhitāya ca iti dharmaḥ.* The purpose of religion (*dharma*) is to achieve *mokṣa* and *jagaddhita.* Such is the definition of religion according to Hindu doctrines. What is *mokṣa*? And what is *Jagaddhita*? *Mokṣa* is a Sanskrit word and a spiritual term of Hinduism which means salvation, self-redemption, which also means union of the individual soul with God, the Supreme Soul, hereafter, and the experiencing of supreme happiness in the form of blissful realization of the *summum bonum* of life. *Jagaddhita* signifies happiness, prosperity and well being of mankind, living in harmony, world peace etc. These are the purposes of religion brought to earth by God, the merciful, the compassionate, according to Hindu religion. God, the Almighty Lord, the Creator, and the Ruler of the Huge Universe bestowed religions on mankind by revealing his ordnances in the form of scriptures through the Prophets, who are known by the name of *Rishi* or *Maharishi,* which means Seers of spiritual truth in Hindu religion.

II. *Triwarga* is derived from the Sanskrit words *tri* and *warga. Tri* means three and *warga* denotes being closely linked or closely related to each other. *Warga* also means family or clan. *Triwarga* means three important factors or means to achieve *mokṣa* and *jagaddhita. Mokṣa* in English may be translated as salvation, eternal life, self-redemption or the redemption of the soul from sins, union of the individual soul and God the Supreme Soul, the experiencing of supreme happiness. *Jagaddhita* means prosperity, happiness, and walfare of mankind, living in harmony, peace of the world etc. Triwarga consists of *kāma, artha* and *dharma.*

(1) *Kāma* is understood as instincts or psychological drives of living existence. There are three predominant psychological drives, or instincts influencing the emotion of living beings, particularly those of human beings. Those drives are hunger, thirst and sexual desire. Apart from the three predominant drives, there are other psychological modes in human emotions such as fear, anger, happiness, the needs for material objects.

(2) *Artha* means materiral objects of psychological drives. Particularly those of hunger, thirst and sexual drives. If we are hungry, we have to eat. What things should we eat? We have to eat anything which can satisfy our hunger. We eat food etc. If we are thirsty, we have to drink. What things have we to drink? Anything which can satisfy our thirst. We drink drinkable things such as water, tea, coffee, juice etc. The same goes with sexual drive. For this very psychological drive, we have to find partner to satisfy it. A man has to find a woman as his partner, likewise a woman a man. Food, drink, a man or woman as partner, or means to satisfy our hunger, thirst and sexual drives, are called *artha. Artha* also has the meaning of valuable property and money.

(3) *Dharma* means ethics of religion or spiritual ethics such as mercy, compassion to words the supressed and distressed, justice, protection, friendship, forgiveness, sympathy to all, etc. In order to achieve *jagaddhita* i.e. happiness and prosperity of mankind, living in harmony, world peace etc., all these psychological drives and their material objects, should be controlled and conditioned by ethics of religion or spiritual etthics, which are called *dharma.* Without the control of *dharma* (ethics), *kāma* (psychological drives) and *artha* (material objects) create disaster and sufferings to mankind or to our fellow beings and other living existences.

Without *dharma, kāma* and *artha* will bring about *exploitation de l'homme par l'homme,* injustice, supression, violence, and chaos to the world. Spiritual ethics, which are called *dharma* in Hindu scriptures, are the determining factors in achieving human happiness, harmonious life, known as *jagaddhita. Jagad* means mankind, people, the world. *Ḥita* means well-being, welfare, prosperity, happiness, harmony etc. Only through spiritual ethics or *dharma,* can one attain the *summum bonum* of human life, namely salvation, redemption of the soul from sins, spiritual happiness in the form of bliss, union — known as *mokṣa* in Hindu religion — of the individual soul with God the Supreme Soul.

Lokasaṁgraha-saṁyuktaṁ yadatra wihitaṁ purā/
sūkṣma-dharmatham niyataṁ satam caritam uttamam//

(Śāntiparwa 259.26)

The happiness and welfare of mankind come from *dharma.* Noble conduct and high moral attitudes are paramount *dharma.*

prabhāwāptaye bhūtānāṁ dharma-prawacanaṁ kṛtam/
yaḥ syāt prabhāwa-saṁyuktaḥ sa dharmaḥ iti niścayaḥ//

(Śāntiparwa 109.10)

All activities which bring about welfare, happiness and cherish all, are called *dharma.*

dharmamūlaḥ sadaiwārthaḥ
kāmārthaphalam ucyate/ (Śāntiparwa 109.10)

Although *artha* (material means) are for the satisfaction of *kāma* (psychological drives), *artha* should always be based on *dharma* (ethics).

Dharma ewa plawo nānyaḥ swargaṁ samabhiwāñchatāṁ/
sadā norwaniar ca tam jaladheḥ pāram icchataḥ// (Sārasamuccaya 14)

Dharma is a means to reach heaven, just like a boat for a trader to cross the ocean.

Weda-pramāṇakaḥ śreyaḥ sadhanam charmaḥ (Manusaṁhitā 1)

Dharma is described by the *Weda* (the Hindu Scripture) as the means to achieve Salvation (*Mokṣa*).

Hindu religion classifies *dharma* (spiritual ethics) into six, namely

1. Śīla : noble conduct or morality
2. Yajña : sacrifice for the well-being of the many
3. Tapa : penance, forbearance in any condition
4. Wrata : avoidance of excessive worldly enjoyments, simple living, fasting etc.
5. Yoga : focus of the mind and heart on God or Divine Power in the form of love for God, constant rememberance of His Divine Name
6. Samādhi : purifying the heart and soul by means of meditation.

Such are the Hindu ethics, which are called *dharma,* the most important factor for achieving human happiness, prosperity, harmonious life, world peace, social welfare etc. or *jagaddhita.*Only through ardent practice of *dharma* (spiritual ethics), such as *śīla* (noble conducts, high morality), *yajña* (sacrifice for well being of the many), *tapa* (penance, forbearance), *wrata* (avoidance of excessive worldly enjoyments, fasting etc.), *yoga* (focus of the mind and heart on God or Divine Power), *samādhi* (purifying the heart and soul through meditation), can salvation, redemption of the soul from sins, supreme happiness in the form of blissful experience, called *mokṣa,* the *summum bonum* of human life, be achieved.

III. *Ethics and Economic System.* In order to obtain *jagaddhita* which means happiness, prosperity and welfare of mankind, harmony and world peace etc., psychological drives, traits or instincts and their material objects, which are called *kāma* and *artha*, should be controlled or conditioned by spiritual ethics which are called *dharma.*

Among the six classes of *dharma* or spiritual ethics, *śīla* is closely related with the achievement of *jagaddhita*. There are important *śīla* in Hinduism which need to be described here in order to achieve *jagaddhita*, namely *pañca yama wrata* and *catur pāramitā*. *Pañca yama wrata* is one of the noble moral conducts or *śīlas*, which can be translated in English as the five commandments, while *catur pāramitā* means four high moral attitudes.

The *pañca yama wrata* or five comandments are:

1. *Ahiṁsā* : the prefix a here means abstention from *hiṁsā* means violence. *Ahiṁsā* or nonviolence means abstention from violence, such as killing and inflicting suffering upon others.
2. *Brahmacarya* : control of the senses, particularly abstention from illicit sex.
3. *Satya* : truthfulness
4. *Asteya* : abstention from stealing, robbing and corruption or illegal possession of the properties of others.
5. *Aparigraha* : uncovetousness.

Catur pāramitā, meaning four high moral attitudes, consist of:

1. *Maitrī* : friendship or friendly to all our fellow beings.
2. *Karuṇā* : compassion to the supressed and distressed.
3. *Upekṣā* : forgiveness.
4. *Muditā* : sympathy to the happy, devoid of jealousy etc.

There are numerous other ethical formulas of *dharma* found in Hinduism, besides these *pañca yama wrata* and *catur pāramitā*. Each of them can not be mentioned here on account of limited space.

If we study all descriptions of spiritual ethics of the Hindu religion which are called *dharma* with its *śīla*, such as *pañca yama wrata* and *catur pāramitā* as means to control *kāma* (psychological drives) and *artha* (its material objects) in order to achieve *jagaddhita*, Hinduism shows tendency towards socialistic pattern of the economic system. This can be surmised from the spiritual or religious ethics, which are against exploitation of human beings, either by greedy individual capitalists in a liberal economic system, who have no mercy and compassion to the suppressed, distressed and down-trodden classes, or by the state as in a totalitarian communist system. This kind of system exploits the people in the name of the state and materialistic socialism, which deny the existence of God, spiritual truths of religions, human rights and freedom. In a totalitarian

communist system, no individual capitalist is found. The state becomes the capitalist, while the party collaborates with the state capitalist, which exploits and sucks the blood of workers who are known as proletarians - with violence, in the name of socialism or state. The economic superstructures and infrastructures of production, as well as of distribution and marketing etc. are in the hands of the state and owned by the state. The accumilation of wealth in the form of capital and profit are in the hands of the state and not in the hands of individuals or of the people. In the developing communist countries the economic system, creates state capitalists which brings forth equality in poverty among the people. The people, as a result, becomes poor, save the state, and perhaps the comunnist party. Only the state becomes rich and not the people or the individual in general.

Exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, by the greedy individual capitalists, in the liberal economic system is opposed to the ethics of any religion. Although in developed or advanced countries like in Western Europe, the liberal economic system tends to show a socialistic pattern, as can be seen from their social welfare program, implementation of economic rules and regulations to prevent domination by big private companies and capitalists, the banning of monopoly, progressive taxes, the right to form unions as well as to strike for laborers, improvement of standard of living, promotion of cooperative movements etc. If we observe the ethics of triwarga, i.e. *kāma, artha* and *dharma*, with its *śīla* and its *pañca yama wrata* and *catur pāramitā,* Hinduism is certainly opposed to any kind of exploitation by either greedy individual capitalists in a liberal economic system as well as by totalitarian state capitalists in a communist system, which exploits the working class, and is indifferent towards their sufferings. In the past decades, if not centuries, the noble ethics of Hinduism were very much transgressed by ignorant Hindu followers, on account of misinterpretation of the doctrines of religion and lack of discipline in practicing its spiritual ethics (*dharma*). These brought setback to the equal distribution of economic and material prosperity, creating social discriminations, such as the caste system, which were originally divisions called *warṇa*, based on profession and qualification. Such digressions would not have happend had the doctrines of Hinduism been ardently observed by the Hindus. Namely through the strong control of *dharma* on *kāma* and *artha*; through the observance of *ahiṁsā*, absention from inflicting sufferings to others; *aparigraha*, uncovetousness; *karuṇā*, compassion to the supressed, distressed and downtrodden people as shwon by the deeds of great Hindu leaders like Sri Ramakrishna Paramhamsa, Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Vivekananda, Dayananda Saraswati etc. These enlightened people exposed the ethics and noble principles of

Hinduism. Coming back to economic system. None would be opposed to the fact that a liberal economic system gives a fairly unimpeded role to private sector, enterprises, and initiatives, for the sake of dynamic and rapid economic growth, on account of its responsiveness and creativity in production and in finding markets and in the distribution of their products. Because without responsiveness and flexibility as well as dynamic effort in production and marketing, there will be a risk of loss in their capital and in the high cost of production etc., which will cause a great disaster to them. Especially if they finance their own enterprise or business activities with loans. This is perhaps one of the reasons, why the liberal economic system which gives more than sufficient role to private sector, enterprises and initiatives, has more dynamic and rapid economic growth compared with a totalitarian system, where everthing is in the hands of the state, resulting in economic stagnation. Although the liberal economic system is more favourable to us, the spirit of religious with their repsective noble ethics which are common to all, such as *ahiṁsā, aprigraha, karuṇā, yajña* should be the basic principles of outr liberal economic system, *Kāma* and *artha* should be always controlled and conditioned by *dharma* for the sake of happiness. Prosperity and welfare of mankind, for harmony and peace of the world (*jagaddhita*) to prevaild. Such as the advise of the noble soul Śrī Rāma to Bharata and Wibhīṣaṇa on spiritual ethics or *dharma* in beautiful verses of the Old Javanese version of the Hindu Epic, Rāmāyaṇa, written by a great poet, known by the name Mpu Yogīśwara in Central Java, some one thousand years ago. The advise goes as follows:

pararthа gumawe sukhaning bhuwana (Ramayana 1.9) (give priority to the needs of others, work for the happiness of the people).

kṣayan ikang papa nahan prayojana (Ramayana 24.82) (the removal of the sufferings of the people should be the goal).

Mas ya ta pahawreddhin (make wealth in the form of gold etc. as much as possible)

Byaya ring hayu kekesen (save for the welfare and happiness of the people)

bhukti sakaharepta (enjoy as much as you need)

adwehing bala kasukhan (Ramayana 3.54) (and most of the wealth utilized for the welfare and happiness of the people).

Thus goes the advise of Śrī Rāma to his younger brother Bharata and friend Wibhīṣaṇa, in the Old Javanese version of the Ramayana Epic, on how to be a leader with high moral integrity.

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EIGHT MANIFESTATIONS OF ŚIVA IN BALINESE ART

Ida Bagus Oka Puni Atmaja, Jakarta

The painting on the opposite page depicts the Eight Manifestations of Śiva. In the centre are the Tripuruṣa, that is Paramaśiva, Sadāśiva and Śiva. The personifications of the three attributes of Śiva are His Triśkati, personified into the Trimūrti of Viṣṇu, Tripuruṣa and Brahmā. The Triśakti represent utpatti, sthiti and pralīna. Viṣṇu is *sthiti,* the Tripuruṣa (Paramaśiva, Sadāśiva and Śiva) is *pralīna*, and Brahmā is *utpatti*.

Besides the Triśakti, are His caduśakti or four śakti, namely, prabhu-śakti, jñāna-śakti, vibhu-śakti and kriyā-śakti. They are personified into four deities: Viṣṇu in the north, Īśvara in the east, Brahmā in the south, and Mahādeva in the west. When the gods of the four intermediate directions are included then the gods of the eight directions represent the aṣṭa-śakti.

The cosmic power of God has two aspects: deva and daitya. Kāla or daityas are the brothers of devas. They represent the evil aspect of cosmic energy. They are the negative power. *Caru* is offered to them in bhūta-yajña, so that the bhūta-yajña is transformed into deva-yajña.

All the manifestations are accompained by their bhūta-śakti. Their direction, colour, mount (vāhana), śakti, weapons, consort and mystic syllables are detailed as follows:

1. Vāyavya (NW): Śaṅkara, green colour (*vilis*), siṅgha (vāhana), bhūta śakti, *angkus* (weapon), Vārāhī, *urip* (duration) one, *SHI śabdanya* (SHI is the sound).

2. Uttara (north): Viṣṇu, black-green colour (*hirĕng hijo*), cakra, sword (kris daṇḍaka), Garuḍa (vāhana), Bhūta Karuṇa (the demon Karuṇa), Devī Śrī (is consort), *A* (is the sound).

3. Aiśānya (N.E.): Śambhu, blue colour (*biru*), triśūla, Vilmāna (is the vāhana), Bhūta Dandang Uddawa, *WA śabdanya* (WA is the sound).

4. Pūrva (East): Īśvara, white colour (*petak*), bajra, gajah petak (white elephant is the vāhana), Umā (is the consort), *SA śabdanya* (SA is the sound).

5. Āgneya (S.E.): Maheśvara, pink colour (*dadu*), Dūpa (is the weapon), varak (is the vāhana), Bhūta Brahmā (is the demon), Lakṣmī (is the goddess), *MA śabdanya* (MA is the sound).

6. Dakṣiṇa (south): Brahmā, red colour (*abang*), daṇḍa (is the weapon), hangsa (is the vāhana), Bhūta Langlang (is the demon), Sarasvatī (it the goddess), *BA śabdanya* (BA is the sound).

7. Nirṛti (S.W.): Rudra, jingga colour, mosala (weapon), misa (white buffalo is the vāhana), Bhūta Wiśeṣa (is the demon), Sentani (is the goddess), *MA śabdanya* (MA is the sound).

8. Paścima (west): Mahādeva, yellow (*jenar*), nāgapāśa (is the weapon), nāga (is the vāhana), Bhūta Lĕmbu (is the demon), Kanya Lembakanya, Śacī (is the goddess), *TA śabdanya* (TA is the sound).

9. Madhya (middle): Paramaśiva.

10. Madhya (middle): Sadāśiva, pañcavarṇa (colour), *Ya I śabdanya* (Ya and I are the sounds), padma (lotus is the seat), Bhūta Pañcawarṇa (is the demon).

11. Madhya (middle): Śiva, Nandini (is the vāhana).

1 Śaṅkara (ŚIṀ)	2 Viṣṇu (AṀ)	3 Śambhu (VAṀ)
8 Mahādeva (TAṀ)	Paramaśiva Sadāśiva (YAṀ IṀ) Śiva	4 Īśvara (SAṀ)
7 Rudra (MAṀ)	6 Brahmā (BAṀ)	5 Maheśvara (NAṀ)

19.4.1972

SRIKANDHI AND SUMBADRA : STEREOTYPED ROLE MODELS OR COMPLEX PERSONALITIES?

Helen Pausacker

Srikandhi and Sumbadra are two of the women characters in wayang, the Javanese shadow puppet play based on the Indian epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.[1] Writers both outside and, to a lesser degree, inside Java have set them up as stereotyped role models for Javanese women: Srikandhi being active in the "men's" military world, and Sumbadra being the loyal support for her husband, Arjuna. A closer look at the lakon in which they play a part reveals that their roles are more complex than this.

In his paper, *Mythology and Tolerance of the Javanese*, Ben Anderson describes Sumbadra as "very much the lady - elegant, gentle, reserved, utterly loyal and obedient to her husband. She represents the ideal type of aristocratic Javanese woman." He says that Srikandhi is "the exact opposite of Sumbadra. Talkative, strong-willed, warm-hearted, fond of hunting, an excellent archer, she is quite ready to debate with Arjuna or take on a passing satrya (knight) in battle..." (Anderson 1965: 21-2). Anderson argues that wayang provides a variety of different personalities for the Javanese to model themselves on: the young Javanese girl can aspire to emulate Sumbadra's "gentle, languishing charm, or, should she look for a more active and vigorous role, the energetic warmth of Srikandhi." (Anderson 1965: 25). However, just as wayang does not depict a clear cut contrast of the Pandawa as good and the Korawa as evil, I would suggest that Srikandhi and Sumbadra cannot be seen as "exact opposites". In looking at the lakon in which Srikandhi and Sumbadra appear, it seems that even if a girl chooses one or other as a role model, then her choices of behaviour are greater than presented by Anderson. The "types" presented can act in a variety of ways: they are not rigid role-models.

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[1]Wayang also exists in other parts of Indonesia — such as Bali, but in this essay, I am concentrating on the Javanese wayang purwa (and in some cases wayang orang (a wayang performed by dancers), which draws its lakon from the same sources). The Javanese versions of the Mahabharata and Ramayana are at times slightly different to the Indian versions. This will be disscussed further in footnote (26). Srikandhi and Sumbadra themselves originally figure in the Mahabharata epic, but wayang lakon (such as WAHYU PURBA SEJATI and MAKUTHARAMA) sometimes combine characters from both epics. There are also other versions of wayang which are not based on the Mahabharata and Ramayana, such as wayang gedog, wayang madya and wayang Panca Sila (Holt 1967:123-31, Mellema 1954:5-7).

Where Hardjowirogo describes Srikandhi and Sumbadra (as opposed to relating stories involving them), his descriptions do not differ greatly from Anderson's. Hardjowirogo says that Srikandhi has "a personality like a man's: she likes fighting, and because of that she is called a female warrior. Right up to the present day, women who are brave enough to right wrongs, especially those which concern the Indonesian people are called Srikandhi." (Hardjowirogo 1965: 151, my translation).[2] He describes Srikandhi as getting angry frequently, but that her anger recedes quickly. He says that Sumbadra is very patient — her anger showing only in a sweet smile, but that once when she was really angry about a misdeed of Arjuna's he felt her anger like a thunderbolt, even though she spoke mildly (Hardjowirogo 1965: 147).[3] Particularly in his descriptions of Srikandhi's and Sumbadra's anger, Hardjowirogo is concerned with *style*... they both get angry, but they do it in different ways.

For the greater part, however, Indonesian sources such as Mulyono, Hardjowirogo, Soetarno and Suwandono quote episodes from Srikandhi's and Sumbadra's lives rather than attempting to provide a neat summation of their personalities. Hardjowirogo includes in his account of episodes in Sumbadra's life, the fact that she had once changed into a powerful (*sakti*) man, but was defeated in battle by Arjuna, a description that might seem to contradict his statements above, but he does not attempt to explain these "discrepancies": they are all aspects of Sumbadra.

Brandon comments that the ritual descriptions in the *janturan* (narration; introducing a major scene) are not necessarily indicative of a character's behaviour in the action of the lakon. He draws attention to the description of Sumbadra in KARNA TANDING (in his translation — "The Death of Karna"): the "lovely and delicate Sum-

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[2]Anderson (1965: 25) also refers to the fact that both women's units in the Indonesian National Army have taken Srikandhi as their model and that the first woman guerilla who landed in West Irian during the 1962 liberation campaign was widely referred to as "our Srikandhi", both by President Sukarno and by the general public.

Mulyono (1978: 15) refers to difficult work done for the nation as being done by Srikandhis.

Soetarno (1987: 274) refers to Srikandhi as having a masculine character and as being a first-class female soldier. He mentions that she defends her husband's honour in war and peacetime.

Suwandono (1981?: 413) says that Srikandhi enjoys military life (*keprajuritan*) and is good at archery.

[3]Mulyono (1978: 135-38) speaks of Sumbadra's beauty, sweet nature and her loyalty to Arjuna. He heads his article, "Sumbadra, a loyal wife who would rather die than be touched by someone else". Soetarno (1987: 245) makes similar statements. Suwandono's description will be mentioned later.

badra who inspires peace of mind"[4] and compares it with her actions in WAHYU PURBASEJATI, saying that here she is "so vain and coquettish she prefers being abducted by an ogre rather than let Arjuna rescue her" (Brandon 1970:74). Whilst it is a moot point whether Sumbadra's actions arise from her being "vain and coquettish"[5], it is possible that the differences between descriptions and actions parallel the "discrepancies" between Hardjowirogo's summation of Sumbadra's character and her actions in the lakon. It can also account for the reasons that Indonesian sources tend to quote episodes rather than analyses of characters. The ideal descriptions are in the "epithets", but the reality of their actions does not have to completely match these.

Carey and Houben discuss the historical role of women at the Javanese courts. In their article, "Spirited Srikandhis and sly Sumbadras", they mention Srikandhi and Sumbadra amongst others, as representatives of women at court: Sumbadra as a woman with great spiritual power (*kasekten*) and Srikandhi as a warrior princess. Carey and Houben describe women as the power behind the throne — women influenced decisions at court and it was thought to increase a ruler's power if he were married to a woman with *kasekten*. Carey and Houben also discuss the role of female militia (Carey and Houben 1987: 12-42). Wayang depicts women in the powerful roles they had at court.

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[4]*Janturan* descriptions of both men and women often involve a long, fairly formalised physical description of both clothes and body, starting from the head and moving downwards, often using similes, such as these taken from a description of Sumbadra: "Her cheeks are creamy like the flesh of a durian ... Her neck is long and graceful like a snake ... Her arms are like ivory bows ... Her hips are broad, her calves are hard like iron... Her big toes are like snakes' heads and her toes run in a neat line from big to small." (extracts from Wignyosoetarno, 1980: 41-2, my translation).

The statements about character in the "epithets" as shown in Brandon (1970: 161, 222 and 315) and the following bear a marked similarity to Hardjowirogo's statements about Srikandhi and Sumbadra:

Sumbadra: "It would be hard to find someone as beautiful as her. She appears friendly, her sweetness is beyond comparison — her smile is sweeter than pure honey. When she speaks it is slow and melodious."

Srikandhi: "the beautiful woman of Pancala ... She is a female warrior." (Wignyosoetarno 1980: 41-2, my translation)

Srikandhi: "Although Wara Srikandhi is a woman, she is destined to be very brave and because of this she is quick and confident in speech and actions (*trangginas tatag tanduk wicarane*)" (Suwarno 1980/81: 1-2, my translation.) In all these "epithets" Sumbadra's sweet nature and Srikandhi's military activities are mentioned.

[5]I would see Sumbadra's refusal to let Arjuna rescue her as being stubborness about etiquette rather than being "vain and coquettish". As yet unmarried, it is her brothers' role to protect her and her brothers are not fulfilling their roles. This can be clearly seen in what Sumbadra says to her brothers on her return to the palace with Arjuna: "You, Brothers, have nothing to say. For a whole week you abandoned your wives and sisters. And when I was cruelly abducted, neither of you helped me! A stranger had to come to the rescue!" (Brandon 1970: 166). For further discussion of this episode see footnote 15.

It is the link between the past and the present, providing a means by which these images are carried through to the present day.

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The fact that wayang is an oral tradition — with an infinite number of lakon and innumerable variations in the performance of existing lakon — also makes it difficult to provide a definitive picture of the characters of Srikandhi and Sumbadra.

Wayang is performed *ad lib*, without the aid of a written text. Each time a dhalang (wayang puppeteer) performs a lakon he or she, whilst bound to a certain degree by tradition of characters and the plot, has scope for interpreting the characters.

A dhalang is furthermore free to make up a completely new lakon, provided that the story does not conflict with the broad outlines of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The lakon dealt with here, however, are lakon which have become set within tradition, as a result of the same story being repeated over and over.[6] Most of the lakon mentioned here are *carangan* or "branch" lakon as opposed to *balungan* or "trunk" lakon. There are numerous definitions of the exact differences between these two types of lakon.[7] The balungan lakon could be said to be of major importance to the overall Mahabharata story, whereas the carangan lakon is an embellishment. Whilst carangan lakon can have their plot set by tradition, there is normally greater freedom of plot development within these compared to a balungan lakon.

As an example, if we look at two versions of SRIKANDHI MAGURU MANAH,[8] we find that in Sunardi's version Srikandhi deceives both her parents and Sumbadra, and

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[6]A possible exception to these lakon as being lakon set in tradition is SEKAR TUNJUNGPUTIH, which seems to appear only in this version.

All names of lakon are shown in capital letters.

At the end of the bibliography, I have listed the names and sources of all the lakon used as reference for this essay, in which Srikandhi and Sumbadra play a significant part. I have not mentioned the sources of these lakon in the text, unless one source contradicts another or I have used a direct quote. Other lakon (i.e. those in which Srikandhi and Sumbadra do not have a major role) are mentioned with their sources after them in brackets.

Where I mention the "plot" of a lakon, I am referring to the storyline — the sequential events which shape the tale — rather than the structure of an actual performance, which has a set pattern of scenes and will always include, for example, the three battle scenes. For a discussion of this latter definition of "plot" see Becker (1979).

[7]See: Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia (1986 I: xvii-xxxiii) for a discussion of these definitions. A summary of the nine definitions is on pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

[8]Sunardi (1978) and Suwarna.
There are two printings of Suwarna's text:

- Suwarno, Bambang, *Lakon Srikandi meguru manah: Pakeliran Padat*, Surakarta, Proyek Pengembangan IKI, Sub-Bagian Proyek ASKI, 1980/1981, 41p.

escapes from her arranged marriage with Jungkungmardea to be with Arjuna. Her attraction to Arjuna is the motivation for Srikandhi's escape and the romance between them is the focus of Sunardi's story. Yet in Suwarna's version, there is no romance with Arjuna — Suwarna concentrates on Arjuna as a teacher: Srikandhi's parents agree that she does not have to marry Jungkungmardea, and with Sumbadra's permission Srikandhi learns archery from Arjuna in order to defend her country against Jungkungmardea, who is angry at her rejection of him. In Sunardi's version Arjuna kills Jungkungmardea, whereas in Suwarna's version, Srikandhi kills Jungkungmardea. Neither the marriage to Arjuna nor the archery competition with Larasati that normally precedes it in this lakon take place in Suwarna's version. The two authors have focused on different aspects of the lakon, and have changed the events slightly to suit this. A version of the lakon could not however be created where Srikandhi married someone else, as this would run contrary to the overall story of the Mahabharata.

In SUMBADRA LARUNG, another well-known carangan lakon, Sumbadra dies, but is brought back to life again before the conclusion of the lakon. There are different accounts of her death - in some versions she kills herself rather than have Burisrawa touch her — in other versions she is killed in a fight with Burisrawa.[9]

This analysis depends largely on written source material — much of it being prose summaries of plots — and it is impossible to be sure how individual dhalang would interpret the stories. Interpretations of characters can also change over time, and characters and lakon can gain or lose popularity according to the vogue at the time. Anderson for example mentions the growing popularity of Gathutkaca over Janaka following the introduction of the "he-man" through Western films (Anderson 1965: 28). The sources used in this essay range in dates from 1923 to 1987. There have been changes in the images of women during this period: the idea of the "modern woman" was first promoted in the 1950-60s but with a new conservatism in the 1970-80s, women's roles as wives and mothers have been emphasised (Hatley, forthcoming). The written sources used here provide insufficient material to say whether there has been any change in the interpretation of or the attitudes to Srikandhi and Sumbadra over this period.[10]

- Suwarna, Bambang, *Lakon Srikandhi meguru manah*, Surakarta, ASKI, April 1980, 17p. The latter version contains a description of his reasons for making changes to the more common versions of the story... but otherwise references are to the former, 1980/81 version.

[9]Suwandono (1980?: 105) refers to Burisrawa killing Sumbadra. Mulyono (1978: 137); Soetarno (1987: 245) and Kodiran (1967: 42) refer to Sumbadra killing herself.

[10]One possible example of a shift in interpretation can be seen in a comparison of Mulyono's and Wignyosoetarno's versions of MAKUTHARAMA. In Wignyosoetarno's (and in Kats') version Sumbadra (as

It is also difficult to estimate how often these lakon are performed (if at all), without a wide-ranging survey over a number of years. A large number of the lakon listed at the end of the bibliography do not appear to be performed regularly although some are well-known.[11] However the fact that they have been written down means that the lakon have not been lost as potential material for performances. Furthermore, knowledge about wayang characters and their stories is often passed by word of mouth, particularly in the case of women, few of whom attend wayang performances.

Despite all these provisos, there is value in examining the written material about Srikandhi and Sumbadra, if only to realise the potential depth of these characters.

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Whilst there is room for some character interpretation of Srikandhi and Sumbadra, a dhalang nevertheless has to stay within the tradition of the lakon that have been passed from generation to generation. Another immutable factor in determining the characters of Srikandhi and Sumbadra is the puppets themselves (see illustrations on page 277). Both Srikandhi and Sumbadra's puppets are of the refined (*halus*) type, indicating that the differences between them will not be as great as those between Arjuna (halus) and Wrekudara (*kasar*: coarse, rough, crude). The difference between the figures of Srikandhi and Sumbadra is more like the difference between the figures of Arjuna and

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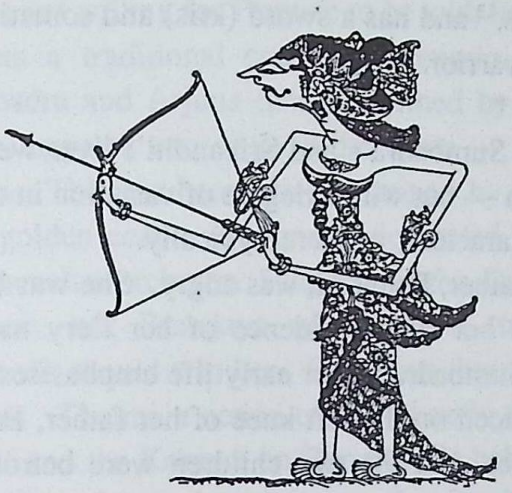
Bambang Sintawaka) fights Arjuna, whereas Mulyono quotes her as going to help her husband by practising aestheticism. See also further details on page 12 for Wignyosoetarno's version and footnote (30) for Mulyono's version. Wignyosoetarno's version was posthumously published in 1972 (and very likely written in the 1960s), whereas Mulyono's Wayang dan karakter wanita was written in 1978. However Mulyono does not provide an actual summary of this lakon, and it is possible that this difference is not of great significance, but more Mulyono's personal interpretation.

[11] As a rough indication, in the two years (May 1976-May 1977; February-December 1981) when I was in Java, I saw a total of forty-five lakon performed as wayang purwa. During that time I saw only three of the (forty-two) lakon listed in the Appendix: CEKEL ENDRALAYA, MAKUTHARAMA (twice) and MAYANGGANA. Of the remaining lakon performed I saw twelve of these twice and one (BIMA SUCI) four times, although in some cases not with a different dhalang.

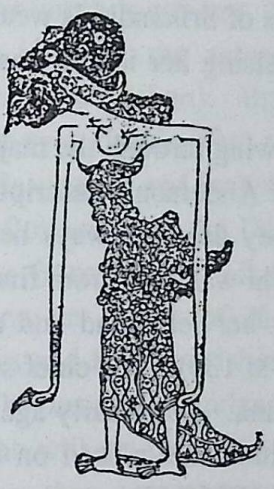
Out of thirty-two wayang orang plot summaries for performances at Sriwedari, Solo, during June-August 1981, six of these are amongst those lakon listed in the Appendix: DARMOSEJATI, NIRBITA LAHIR, PANDAWA TUJUH, SEMAR JADI RATU, SEMAR TAMBAL and SRIKANDHI NGRAMAN.

Interestingly, I did not see SRIKANDHI MAGURU MANAH or SUMBADRA LARUNG, which would probably be amongst the better-known.

In addition, in two of the dhalang schools in Solo - Pasinaon Dhalang Mangkunagaran (PDMN) and Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia (ASKI) - MAKUTHARAMA is one of the (or in the first case the sole) lakon studied.

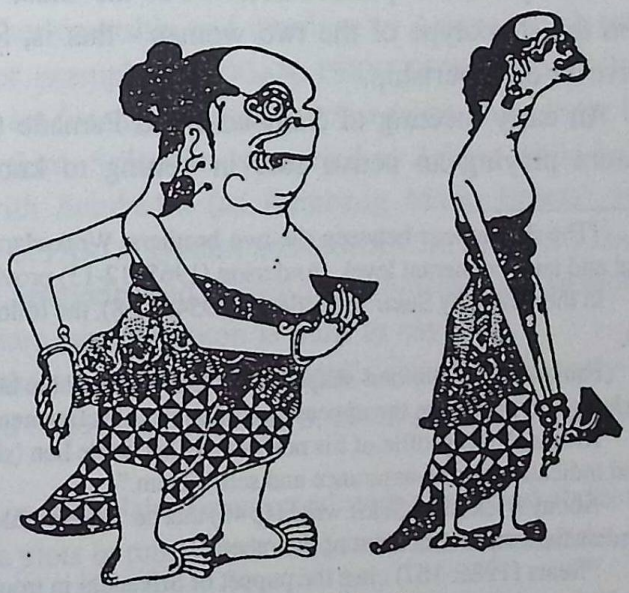


Srikandhi



Sumbadra

Rakseksi



Limbuk & Cangik

Pictures of Srikandhi, Limbuk and Cangik from Soetarno, *Ensiklopedia wayang*
Pictures of Sumbadra and Rakseksi from Hardjowirogo, *Sedjarah wajang purwa*

Kresna.[12] Where Sumbadra's head is tilting down, indicating her humility, Srikandhi's head is tilted upwards, indicating her directness and self-assurance. The position of the head also results in Srikandhi having a higher voice than Sumbadra. As an adult Sumbadra has no jewelled bracelets, indicating her unworldliness. One of the (less common) forms of Srikandhi is wearing trousers,[13] and has a sword (kris) and sometimes arrows, emphasising her identity as a female warrior.

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In following through the major events in Sumbadra's and Srikandhi's lives we see confirmation of Anderson's descriptions of them — but with a degree of variation in their behaviour. They do not always behave "in character", or stereotypically.

Srikandhi was born from fire when her father, Drupada, was angry. She was born with a bow in her left hand and an arrow in her right, evidence of her fiery nature (Mulyono, 1978: 130). The chief story about Sumbadra in her early life emphasises her bond with Arjuna. At an early age she was placed on the left knee of her father, Prabu Basudewa. Arjuna was placed on his right knee, and the two children were betrothed (Hardjowirogo 1965:147).

In the stories of both Sumbadra's and Srikandhi's courtship and marriage with Arjuna, there are versions which show them each as having an active role, and versions in which they have a passive role. But the most common versions of these stories confirm the stereotype of the two women - that is, Sumbadra as passive and Srikandhi as active in the courtship.

An early meeting of Sumbadra and Pamade (Arjuna) in SEMAR JANTUR, shows Sumbadra playing an active role in getting to know Pamade. She rescues the un-

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[12]The differences between the two brothers, Wrekudara and Arjuna are quite extreme, both on a physical and temperamental level. Anderson (1965: 12-13) provides a good description of these.

In the article by Sukir in Mellema (1954: 47-8), the following is written about Pamade (Arjuna) and Kresna:

Pamade: "The almond-shaped eye indicates his noble birth. The slightly bowed head characterizes his modesty and gives him the appearance of a man of refinement."

Kresna: "The profile of his nose shows his noble lien (sic.: line?), but the more elevated position of his head indicates his self-assurance and self-esteem."

About Wrekudara Sukir writes (p 46) that he "has an athletic build, and his nose indicates that he does not possess the inner refinement of the others".

[13]Sears (1986: 167) cites the puppet of Srikandhi in trousers, an illustration of which appears on the cover of Suwarno's text of SRIKANDHI MAGURU MANAH (1980/1981), as being Suwarno's own creation for the performance at ASKI. This puppet is not in complete male clothing, as she has a female bodice (a male puppet, such as Patih Jakapuring who wears similar trousers, would have his chest uncovered.

conscious Pamade, bringing him back to the hermitage where she lives. But in both JALADARA RABI and PARTA KRAMA Sumbadra's role is passive. In the former, Pamade disguises himself as a bridesmaid for Erawati's wedding to Jaladara (Kakrasana, Sumbadra's brother). Pamade thereby gains access to Sumbadra, who sounds the alarm. She is not willing for Pamade to be with her without her family's consent. PARTA KRAMA depicts a traditional courtship scenario. The lakon includes the actual wedding of Sumbadra and Arjuna (and is defined by Kats as a balungan lakon). Bratajaya (Sumbadra) appears very little in the lakon — she does not even decide what the bride-price will be. This has been pre-determined by her father, Basudewa, and includes items such as a golden coach with horses decorated by mayang-flowers from the Dewandaru-tree, the gamelan-orchestra Salokanata, the Danu-buffaloes from heaven. It is Bratajaya's brothers, not Bratajaya who express strong opinions on which of the prospective husbands should win her. Baladewa favours Burisrawa and Kresna wishes her to marry Arjuna. The main action of the lakon is the struggle between the Pandawa on Arjuna's behalf and the Korawa on Burisrawa's behalf, over who will get the bride-price first. In this lakon, Sumbadra is the sought-after "object" rather than an active protagonist.

Srikandhi on the other hand in the commonly quoted SRIKANDHI MAGURU MANAH is the one who seeks out Janaka (Arjuna) to teach her archery, going against her parents' wishes for her arranged marriage. Whilst this version is definitely the most popular, there are other versions of her courtship and marriage to Arjuna which portray a much more passive Srikandhi, for example COCOGAN, PEKSI DEWATA and CAKRA NAGARA. In the first two a quest is set for the potential grooms-to-be, the winner being allowed to marry Srikandhi. In the third, Srikandhi is married to Arjuna while he is in disguise (as Cakra Nagara) and with Sumbadra (as Bambang Madu Branta) as his groomsman. Whether the popularity of PARTA KRAMA and SRIKANDHI MAGURU MANAH is because they fit the stereotypes of Srikandhi and Sumbadra or whether the stereotypes have arisen because these are the more popular lakon is hard to say.

Both women are wooed by other men, but in Srikandhi's case, this is rarely after her marriage to Arjuna — SRIKANDHI NGRAMAN and SEKAR JATIKUSUMA being notable exceptions.

In Sumbadra's case there are over ten lakon concerned with attempted abductions after her marriage with Arjuna.[14] The plots in most cases follow the same pattern: Arjuna

[14]Some of these lakon include:
ABIMANYU LAHIR, ARJUNA KEMBAR, BAMBANG MANONBAWA, BAMBANG MAR GANA, CEKEL ENDRALAYA, DANUMAYA, DARMOSEJATI, MAYANGGANA, PANDU BREGOLA, SEMAR JADI RATU, SEMAR TAMBAL, SIDAJATI, SINDUSENA, SUMBADRA LARUNG.

is missing, Sumbadra is sought after by another man, Arjuna comes back and rescues her. In most of these cases Sumbadra plays a purely passive role. The plots can be incredibly complex, but Sumbadra appears little in these lakon. Most of the story concerns the fights between the men who are capturing her and the men who are winning her back. With the exception of PANDU BREGOLA (in which Sumbadra sends Arjuna off to fetch her a red *bader*-fish), Arjuna is off "doing his own thing" — hunting, being a hermit, or courting another woman.

In a sense Sumbadra is the counterpart of Arjuna. Both Arjuna and Sumbadra were born on the same day (*Selasa Kliwon*) and therefore according to Javanese lore they have the same characteristics: "loyal, generous, tolerant, of good character, patient, polite (always with good manners), attractive, sweet and friendly and easily offended/touchy" (Suwandono 1980?: 419-20, my translation). Arjuna is always chasing other women, but other men are always chasing Sumbadra. Whilst being continually abducted may not appear to fit Anderson's description of "the ideal type of aristocratic Javanese woman", it does fit with Suwandono's description of someone born on *Selasa Kliwon* as attractive to others (*menarik hati*).

According to the ideal courtly behaviour, a wife should, without complaint, accept her husband having relations with other women (Hatley, forthcoming). In fact Sumbadra never does complain about Arjuna's romantic escapades. If she criticises him, it is for being away from home and neglecting his duties as protector, which indeed she says to him in PARTA DEWA.[15] Sometimes this criticism makes Arjuna return home, but more often the very fact that Sumbadra is being (unwillingly) pursued by another man seems to provide the catalyst to bring Arjuna back. Given that wayang is largely for men and by men,[16] it seems appropriate to raise the question of whether this group of stories provides role models for the few women watching them or whether they are tales with a moral for the largely male audience - that if they neglect their wives then another man may try to abduct them.

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[15]It is certainly not only occasions when Arjuna is courting women that Sumbadra berates him for abandoning his duties. In MAKUTHARAMA Sumbadra complains Arjuna has left the kingdom without telling anyone and she is not calmed when she hears it hasn't been for his own pleasure, but for the good of the kingdom. Sumbadra (as yet unmarried) makes a similar point in WAHYU PURBA SEJATI when, rather than enjoying the fact that Arjuna has rescued her from an attempted abduction, she berates her brothers for their lack of protection. At this point they, too, have been seeking a *wahyu*.

[16]None of the wayang plots or summaries were written by women, and my own observations of performances are insufficient to indicate whether there is a significant difference in the actual plots of lakon by women dhalang.

In comparing the two women's response to unwanted suitors, Srikandhi shows more verve in opposing their wishes. In many versions of SRIKANDHI MAGURU MANAH, Srikandhi goes against her parents' wishes for her to marry Prabu Jungkungmardea — eloping instead to learn archery from Arjuna, and then fighting Jungkungmardea. In SRIKANDHI NGRAMAN, Srikandhi fights her abductor, Dasakumara. (She loses and it is eventually Kresna who defeats him.) In SEKAR JATIKUSUMA Srikandhi is abducted. In this lakon she is passive, but only because she is sick. As soon as she is well again, she is desperate to fight her captors. It takes Jatiwisesa (Anoman) to restrain her; telling her he doesn't doubt her strength, but the two of them are prisoners and surrounded by enemies. Sumbadra on the other hand seems to put up little resistance to her abductors. If she is captured, she stays with her captor until someone rescues her.[17] In one lakon, PANDU BREGOLA, Sumbadra says she will have nothing to do with her captor, Pandu Bregola, unless he can find he a red bader-fish, which is what she sent Arjuna to look for! In SUMBADRA LARUNG, when Burisrawa attempts to abduct her, she draws a dagger and kills herself, rather than be touched by him.[18] This action, whilst certainly foiling Burisrawa, is self-defeating rather than self-defence.

Srikandhi and Sumbadra would fit Anderson's picture of opposites in the parts they play (or do not play) as mothers and in the Bratayuda War. It is Sumbadra's role as a mother and Srikandhi's role as a warrior that is important in the overall scheme of the Mahabharata epic. Sumbadra's son, Abimanyu dies in the Bratayuda War. After the war Abimanyu's son, Parikesit, becomes the King of Astina. Sumbadra also survives the Bratayuda War and looks after Parikesit.[19] Srikandhi on the other hand bears no children as a woman, although she does father a child.[20] Her part in the Bratayuda War is that of a warrior — she kills Bhisma, and then dies at the hand of Aswatama, the son of Durna.

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[17]In ABIMANYU LAHIR Sumbadra stays in the forest with her captor for the birth and part of the childhood of Abimanyu.

In DANUMAYA she is captured in a ring and stays with Sekti Wijaya, her captor, until rescued by Arjuna.

[18]In some versions, however, Sumbadra fights with Burisrawa and dies in the struggle (see footnote 9).

Burisrawa however, never succeeds in actually capturing her. (See SUMBADRA LARUNG, MAYANGGANA, SINDUSENA, CEKEL ENDRALAYA).

[19]Carey and Houben discuss the role of women in courts as preservers of adat (traditional customs and law) and their influence in educating their (or others') offspring (Carey and Houben 1987: 29-32).

[20]Srikandhi's son, Nirbita, and Arjuna are enemies: Arjuna shoots Nirbita in the eye, and Nirbita says he'll take revenge on him in the form of his son, Nirwata Kawaca (KANDHIHAWA and NIRBITA).

Defining the characters of wayang figures is made even more difficult by the fact that they often change their form.[21] And in the case of both Srikandhi and Sumbadra, this form is at times that of a man, further complicating the idea of them as role models for Javanese girls.

Sumbadra is disguised as a man in the lakon MAKUTHARAMA, SUKSMADADARI, PANDAWA TUJUH *and* CAKRA NAGARA. In MAKUTHARAMA she sets off to find Arjuna, who is missing. She is changed by Narada to a man, Bambang Sintawaka. On finding Arjuna, she fights him. In SUKSMADADARI she (together with Srikandhi and Larasati, who are also in the guise of men) attacks Dwarawati in an attempt to win one of Kresna's wives. No one except Bambang Endratanaya (Arjuna) can defeat Suksmadadari. In CAKRA NAGARA Sumbadra as Bambang Madu Branta becomes one of the groomsmen for the wedding of Cakra Nagara (Arjuna) to Srikandhi. In PANDAWA TUJUH Sumbadra and Srikandhi become the giants Kala Badrayaksa and Kala Andhiyaksa, who invade *kahyangan* (Heaven) to free the Pandawa, who are being held prisoner there.

In addition to the above lakon SUKSMADADARI and PANDAWA TUJUH, Srikandhi is disguised as a man in ERANGBAYA and KANDHIHAWA. In the former, Srikandhi (as Erangbaya) attacks Dwarawati, killing Angkawijaya (Sumbadra's son) and abducting Drupadi (Yudhistira's wife). Arjuna (as Sinom Parijata) brings Angkawijaya back to life and fights with Erangbaya, who turns back into Srikandhi. In KANDHIHAWA (and its other version NIRBITA LAHIR), Srikandhi (in the guise of Kandhihawa) marries Durniti, who soon discovers she's married to someone of her own sex. Her father, King Dike, drives Kandhihawa away. Kandhihawa goes into a forest and meets Bagawan Amintuna who offers to exchange genders with Kandhihawa. After this exchange, Kandhihawa is then allowed back to Ngimaimantaka and Durniti. Kandhihawa becomes the biological father of a child, Nirbita, as a result of the marriage, but Durniti dies in childbirth. Nirbita urges Kandhihawa to remarry. Kandhihawa sends Nirbita on his behalf to ask Sumbadra if she will marry him. As Arjuna has been absent for some time Kresna agrees to the marriage, but sets as the condition that Kandhihawa gives the bride the flowers from the heavenly Dewandaru-tree. Nirbita sets off to get them. Meanwhile Kandhihawa has re-exchanged genders with Amintuna, but still has "her" male "persona". "She" arrives to find that Arjuna has returned home. Kandhihawa and Arjuna fight and during this fight Kandhihawa changes back into Srikandhi.

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[21]See Keeler (1987: 207-11) for a discussion of this. Further reference will be made to Keeler's analysis of this phenomenon (footnote 31).

Transvestitism and the adoption — partially or fully — of the opposite sex's role is and has always been a part of Javanese culture, as in many other cultures throughout the world.[22]

In the Javanese *kraton* (court), one example was the Prajurit Keparah Estri, the King's female bodyguard (which in 1821 numbered 150 in the Mangkunegaran court, Solo). The Prajurit Keparah Estri wore the male Javanese fighting costume, *prajuritan*, as their official dress (Carey and Houben 1987: 19). They wore gold, masculine clothing for military manoevers and then changed to plain, white, women's clothing for the court (Kumar, 1980: I: 8). They were trained in the use of weapons as well as singing, dancing and playing musical instruments - as indeed were male soldiers (Carey and Houben, 1987: 18; Kumar 1980: I: 5, 21).

This is not to imply that Srikandhi and Sumbadra were in fact members of the Keparah *Prajurit Estri*. For a start, whilst the prajurit estri were taken from the most beautiful girls in the kingdom, they were rarely taken as concubines — much less wives - by the King (Kumar 1980: 1:5; Carey and Houben 1987:18). However it does suggest that there was a tradition that women were in the militia and that when women fought, they did so in male dress.

The first question is *why* Sumbadra and Srikandhi wished to disguise themselves as/change into men. One factor that all the lakon mentioned above have in common, is that Arjuna is absent from the kingdom. In all these lakon this leads to Sumbadra and/or Srikandhi also leaving. They are no longer able to play the role expected of them as

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[22]Discussions of transvestitism in Indonesia can be found in Graham (1987) van der Kroef (1956) and Oetomo (1987). Whilst all of these mainly discuss male transvestitism, some mention of women transvestites is made: Graham mentions that some *manang bali* are women (1987: 98); van der Kroef mentions the Sosom festival of the Marind (South West New Guinea) where if women or girls join in they have to wear male dress (1956: 194).

Brown mentions a woman of the Lushais (India) who dressed as a man, and had "in every way adapted herself to the habits of men", including getting married (1927: 210). Whitehead mentions that the American *berdache* (transvestites) included married women, sometimes with children. They might become *berdache* because of the absence of a husband (or out of economic necessity, a husband's ineptitude, a vision, or to avenge a slain kinsman). They could take up "men's occupations". Being a *berdache* often also involved cross-dressing. Most of the women took on male roles more casually than did their male counterparts but they did occasionally become permanent *berdache*, founding households and taking wives (1981: 82, 90-92).

The *berdache* are remarkably similar to Sumbadra and Srikandhi in the lakon where they become men as (1) Srikandhi and Sumbadra are also married, Sumbadra having children; (2) their husband is absent; (3) they are carrying out "men's occupations" (travelling, engaging in battle); (4) they take on male roles sporadically; and (5) they also take wives.

wives and so take one of the options available — to become men.[23] In many cases they also attempt — with varying degrees of success — to become husbands, too.

Taking on the shape of a man gives them greater freedom of movement. As a man they can travel alone: as a woman they should be escorted.

They are dissatisfied with and angry at their lot as abandoned wives. As well as giving them freedom of movement, becoming men also gives them a greater chance of acting out their anger — in battle with Arjuna. This occurs in MAKUTHARAMA, SUKSMADADARI, KANDHIHAWA and ERANGBAYA. In Wignyosoetarno's MAKUTHARAMA Sumbadra, on resuming the shape of a woman, makes it clear she is angry with Arjuna for his truancy: "You shouldn't just go off as you please. If I'm not mistaken, you left without telling anyone. You just do as you please. Just because I'm a woman, doesn't mean I can be thrown away at your will when I'm not useful."

Shortly afterwards she adds: "You are a man, you can see everything. It's not improper for you to seek pleasure anywhere. I, on the other hand, am a woman. Where do I seek pleasure? What pleasure is there for me, when my husband goes off, without telling me where he's going? But if that's too much bother for you, well, I suppose it must be me who's in the wrong."

In reply to Kresna asking if Sumbadra has forgiven Arjuna, she says: " ... if I don't forgive him, it won't make any difference. I'm just a woman. But it would be too

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[23]Of course, there are many occasions where they stay waiting for Arjuna to return. However in those cases - under the protection of their fathers, Kresna or other Pandawa brothers - they are still in a relationship to a man: as daughter, sister or sister-in-law. To break out from their relationships with those remaining men (and the one they are waiting for), they have to become someone else - in most cases a man.

In Wignyosoetarno's version of MAKUTHARAMA, Sumbadra's determination to escape the role of the abandoned wife is clear. It is not just that she is worried about Arjuna — even when she hears he is safe, she does not change her mind:

"*Narada*: ... in relation to your husband's disappearence: he is at the moment hidden away, protected by the gods, so don't be sad. When the time comes, it won't be difficult for you to find him. The gods will make it clear to you all. Thus it's better if you return back to the city instead of making your whole family worry.

Sumbadra: Yes, pukulun, what you say is true, but I have made up my mind that I won't return to the court until I have met Arjuna.

Narada: Almighty Gods, you've made a very firm decision, haven't you, my child. If only the world were filled with people whose intentions were as firm as yours, the gods' hope would be fulfilled. If you are firm in your heart, the gods won't disappoint you. I'll give you the means to accomplish your mission." (Wignyosoetarno 1980: 45, my translation)

Narada then offers her some clothes to change her appearance to a man's. It can be seen from Narada's delight in Sumbadra's stubbornness to continue with her plan, and the fact that he already had the clothes with him, that the gods had never intended that Sumbadra just sit at home waiting for Arjuna.

much to forgive him. Women who forgive are given the blame." (Wignyosoetarno 1980: 72-3, my translation).

It can be seen from Sumbadra's words that she views a male's role as more exciting and her role as a wife without a husband as being meaningless. She left the kingdom and was changed into a man as a way of escaping this meaningless role.

In the lakon MAKUTHARAMA, SUKSMADADARI, ERANGBAYA and KANDHIHAWA, when Sumbadra and Srikandhi (as men) are fighting Arjuna, they change back to their original form when Arjuna embraces them or speaks lovingly to them. Changing form to become someone else is common in wayang but the person normally reverts to their usual form when they are hit by an arrow.[24] For Srikandhi and Sumbadra it is the reminder of their regular life and social ties that makes them change back.[25] For the largely male audience, the message is given that, even if they have strayed, a loving gesture will win back a wife who is angry with them.

To what degree are Sumbadra and Srikandhi still women when they are "disguised as" men in these lakon, and to what degree have they "become" men? The transformation of women to men is a magical one. In four of these lakon, CAKRA NAGARA, KANDHIHAWA, MAKUTHARAMA and PANDAWA TUJUH, Sumbadra and/or Srikandhi are changed to men by gods or goddesses, to help them in their search for Arjuna. It does not appear to be simply a matter of putting on other clothes, as they do have an entirely new identity, but it is difficult to analyse in a clinical sense to what

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[24]For some examples:
- In Kats' version of PEKSI DEWATA Bambang Margana (Arjuna) shoots Srikandhi's Jawata-bird, which turns back into Puntadewa, and the cage becomes Wrekudara, Pinten and Tangsen (the rest of the Pandhawa).
- In ABIMANYU LAHIR, when Sumbadra's son shoots at the pseudo-Abimanyu, he turns back into a giant.
- In PANDU BREGOLA when Srikandhi shoots at the pseudo-Kresna, he resumes his original shape, that of Pandu Bregola.

[25]In PARTA DEWA Arjuna (as Prabu Kalithi, King of Kahyangan Tinjomaya) is enjoying himself with the widadari (nymphs, angels). When Begawan Bratakesawa (Kresna) and Endhang Bratajayanti (Sumbadra) invade the palace and criticise him for seeking only his own pleasure, he shoots an arrow at them and they change back into their original forms. On seeing Sumbadra again, Prabu Kalithi realises how much he misses her and resumes his own form as Arjuna, and agrees to return home (Widada 1975: 41-46). In this lakon it is Arjuna, not Sumbadra, who has given up his role. In other words, it is not only women who change back when reminded of their regular life and social responsibilities.

In SEKAR JATIKUSUMA Arjuna (who has been changed into a flower, Sekar Jatikusuma) regains his original form when he is smelled by Srikandhi. As the Javanese often sniff people where a Westerner might give a kiss on the cheek, this change could be said to be caused by a display of affection (as are the changes of Srikandhi and Sumbadra from men to women.)

degree the women have "become" men (that is transsexuals) or whether they are "disguised" as men (that is transvestites).[26]

The lakon KANDHIHAWA provides some clue to this (See summary on page). Despite having been changed to a man by Batara Narada, Srikandhi is still technically a woman. Kats' version of the lakon is somewhat coy, but Wiroatmojo describes the situation in detail. After Kandhihawa is married to Durniti, they retire to the bedroom. Kandhihawa is very sleepy, and falls straight into a deep sleep. Dewi Durniti is very disappointed that she "has not been made to surrender in love" (*boten pinarwasa ing asmara*). She can't hold back and she embraces her husband, stroking him all over his body, but when she discovers he "doesn't have an obvious sign of manhood" (*datan katawis tandhaning priya*), she runs to her father. It is only after Begawan Amintuna helps her by loaning her his penis (*Sang Begawan mitulungi kanthi anyambutaken kakungipun dhateng Kandhihawa*) that Kandhihawa physically becomes a man (Wiroatmojo 1978: 65). KANDHIHAWA is the only lakon where there are two stages in the

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[26]In MAKUTHARAMA Narada, who helps Sumbadra, initially just tells her to change her clothes, but then goes on to explain other necessary changes:

"*Narada*: I'm actually sent by Sang Hyang Sida Jatimurti to give you a suit of armour (*kawaca*). Come on, put it on. ... *Sumbadra goes off to the right and returns changed into men's clothes.*

Narada: You make a very good man. It really suits you. No one would imagine that you were a woman.

Sumbadra: Yes, pukulun. Do I keep my name?

Narada: O, ha, ha. Your voice doesn't match your appearance. Your voice should be like your sister, Srikandhi's, then it would match your appearance. I'll name you Bambang Sintawaka." (Wignyosoetarno 1980: 45, my translation. This quote is a continuation of the one in footnote 23.)

The puppet for Bambang Sintawaka used at Pasinaon Dhalang Mangkunagaran (a dhalang school in Solo, Java) has a raised head, like Kresna's and Srikandhi's which then affects the voice, making it higher. The change in head position in itself indicates that there is more than just a clothes change going on. The change in head position would also indicate a personality change - from modesty to self-assurance and self-esteem (see footnote 12).

Towards the end of the lakon, when Janaka calls Sumbadra by her name, she just "turns into" Sumbadra (Wignyosoetarno 1980: 72). She doesn't need to go away and change into her old clothes or anything like that. The clothes are magic, and change her whole persona, and they can disappear equally as easily, changing her back into her original form.

The initial change of Srikandhi to Kandhihawa by Durga is even more "magical". Like Narada with Sumbadra in MAKUTHARAMA, Durga at first tries to persuade Srikandhi to go home as her father is looking for her. When Srikandhi refuses, Durga grabs Srikandhi, shakes her and waves her round (*dening Durga dipun obat-abitaken, dipun undha-undha den wayang-wayangaken*) with the result that she changes into a man (Wiryoatmojo 1978: 64).

gender change. It is also the only lakon in which Srikandhi or Sumbadra consummate a marriage to a woman and/or father a child.[27]

However, whether or not there has been a full physical change in the other lakon, there has certainly been a change in role. In all the six lakon (MAKUTHARAMA, SUKSMA-DADARI, PANDHAWA TUJUH, CAKRA NAGARA, ERANGBAYA and KANDHIHAWA), Sumbadra and/or Srikandhi have taken on new identities as men. Not only are they no longer "abandoned wives", but they are no longer related to those people they are bound to in their "normal" identity. (This freedom from their other life is obvious when they change form, even without a change of gender. In RANDA WIDADA when Srikandhi becomes the widow Sumarnasih of Widada, she suddenly has sons of marriageable age. She has stepped into a new identity with pre-existing social relationships.)

Srikandhi and Sumbadra display different character traits when they are "disguised" as men. Unlike Srikandhi, Sumbadra is not a female warrior - she shows little aggression, even to her unwanted suitors. And whilst Srikandhi is a warrior, she is known for protecting her husband's honour in war and peacetime (Soetarno 1987: 274). Yet, as mentioned previously (pages 11-12), when Srikandhi and Sumbadra are disguised as men, they both fight Arjuna. In MAKUTHARAMA Sumbadra (as Bambang Sintawaka) provokes the fight herself. In one version of this lakon she even joins forces with the Korawa in fighting Arjuna (Kats 1923: 320-21). Both Srikandhi and Sumbadra are good fighters when they are in male form. They defeat the gods in PANDAWA TUJUH. In ERANGBAYA Arjuna is the only one who can defeat Srikandhi (Erangbaya). Reports by foreigners of the prajurit estri also suggest that women showed a greater dexterity with weapons than did the men (Kumar 1980: I: 7-8).

In many of the lakon where Sumbadra and Srikandhi are men, they want to abduct women and often these women are already well known to them. Kandhihawa (Srikandhi)

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[27]There is an Indian story very similar to the lakon KANDHIHAWA, but with important variations in the storyline, which produce differences in the "logic" of the plot. In the Indian version quoted by O'Flaherty and Brown, Drupada has no sons, and when Sikhandin is born, she is brought up as a boy, and *therefore* on maturity marries a princess. When the princess finds out that her husband is a woman, she is humiliated. Her father wages war on King Drupada (Sikhandin's father). *Therefore*, to prevent this, Sikhandin begs the yaksa, Stuna, to exchange sexual organs with her. Sikhandin is reunited with the princess. Kubera, the lord of the Yaksas curses Stuna, who is forced to remain a woman. Sikhandin remains a man. (O'Flaherty 1981: 306-7; Brown 1978: 206-7).

In the Indian version Sikhandin is not married to Arjuna — unlike Srikandhi, Sikhandin had thought she was a boy all her life. In the Javanese Mahabharata Srikandhi is — and has to stay — a wife of Arjuna. There is therefore quite a complex set of steps (four in all) to the change of gender and back again, in order to adapt the Indian version, in which there is one, permanent change.

suggests Sumbadra as his potential wife; Suksmadadari (Sumbadra) asks for one of the wives of Kresna (Sumbadra's brother); Erangbaya (Srikandhi) abducts Drupadi (Yudhisthira's wife and Srikandhi's own sister).[28] Given that these lakon could be seen as attempts by Srikandhi and Sumbadra to break out of their lives, it is interesting that — at the same time as warring with the men — they wish to reunite with the women from their "former lives" (and in addition to take those women away from their husbands).[29] Such actions raise questions about Sumbadra's (and Srikandhi's) being "utterly loyal and obedient to (their) husband" (Anderson 1965: 21-2). It would seem that their loyalty at times is more with their fellow women than their men.[30]

The changes of men to women in wayang do not parallel those of women to men. Janaka in JALADARA RABI disguises himself as a woman, Endhang Wrediningsih, to get close to another woman, Rara Ireng (Sumbadra). In ARJUNA SENDANG, Sang Hyang Guru and Batara Narada change into beautiful women, Dewi Nilawati and Suwarsi, to tempt Arjuna out of a pool where he is entertaining all the widadari (nymphs/angels) (Kats 1923: 345). Sang Hyang Guru and Narada change gender to exploit Arjuna's weakest point: his attraction to women. In PARIKESIT LAHIR, Arjunapati takes the form of Dewi Citra Oji in order to kill Arjuna — although Kresna subsequently brings Arjuna back to life (Kats 1923: 440). In all of these cases the men change not so much for a general reason (freedom of movement, dissatisfaction with their situation), but rather

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[28]In CAKRA NAGARA Sumbadra (as Bambang Madu Branta) is the groomsman at Srikandhi and Arjuna's (Cakra Nagara's) wedding. Whilst not exactly attempting to abduct Srikandhi here, Sumbadra is strengthening the bond between them whilst she is a man. Unlike a number of the other lakon Sumbadra is here also acting with Arjuna rather than against him.

[29]The only lakon in which an unkown (and unmarried) woman is wooed, is KANDHIHAWA. In KANDHIHAWA it would appear that there is a definite sexual element involved for Srikandhi to be keen enough to change her gender with Begawan Amintuna and go back to Dewi Durniti to consummate the marriage. This inherent lesbianism/bisexuality has meant that Srikandhi is not just a role model for an active, vigorous woman, but also for the budding Indonesian gay movement, where she has been nominated as a symbol for lesbians, transvestites and gay men (Kelompok Kerja Lesbian dan Gay Nusantara 1988: pp 22-23).

Nor was lesbianism unheard of in the Javanese courts. Carey and Houben mention a lesbian "scandal" amongst the wives of Pakubuwana V of Solo (reigned 1820-1823) where one of the ruler's unofficial wives "acted the male role" in a number of lesbian relationships with "frustrated royal concubines" (Carey and Houben 1987: 20).

[30]Mulyono would probably disagree with my interpretation. He describes Sumbadra's adventure in MAKUTHARAMA in the following words: "Sumbadra herself didn't want to be left behind in matters of concern (*hal prihatin*) and meditation. So when Arjuna was going to receive the 'Wahyu Makutharama', Sumbadra didn't stay quietly and comfortably in the kingdom of Madukara. She also left Madukara to help her husband, and led a lifestyle free from worldly luxuries." (Mulyono 1978: 137, my translation).

because at that moment it is an expedient means of them solving an immediate problem. Men have greater power in the outside world, and it is only in isolated situations that they can gain more by being women.[31]

The exploits of Srikandhi and Sumbadra as men are interludes in their lives and have no long-term effect.[32] This is in part because the stories are carangan lakon. At the end of the evening's performance, the situation must be returned to what it was at the beginning, unless it is an event that does not counteract the overall course of events in the Mahabharata, such as the gaining of a *wahyu.* These episodes provide them with the opportunity to escape the constraints placed on them as women. They can "let off steam", show their anger and frustration, and acknowledge they would love to have men's privileges. The need to do this highlights the problems that they have in their "regular" lives. Keeler comments that *alihan* (the changing from one form to another) is one way that characters can move outside their established type, but that wayang "does not undercut the binding authority of etiquette, it only imagines a kind of escape from an individual's particular place in the social hierarchy" (Keeler, 1987: 208). However, if Sumbadra is indeed the role model for the perfect Javanese lady, such lakon would suggest to young Javanese girls who want to follow in her footsteps, that sometimes it's alright for them to step outside their role too. They themselves may need to behave independently, or in a "masculine" fashion if their husbands (or other male protectors) have deserted them.

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I myself have heard Javanese people refer in conversation to Srikandhi and Sumbadra as though they were the two roles for Javanese women. However it would be wrong to give the impression that they are the only women in wayang. Anderson himself

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[31]The changes in gender of men to women are more similar to those described by Keeler (1987: 207-8). He cites the example of Bathara Guru who takes on the appearance of a priest in order to negotiate a settlement between the Korawa and the Pandhawa. Whilst giving the semblance of being impartial he hopes to further the interests of the Korawa, one of whose daughters he is interested in. In this case, as with those changes of men to women cited, the change — from higher on the social scale to lower — is for a specific purpose, rather than a general one.

[32]One exception to this being in the lakon NIRBITA. Kandhihawa's son, Nirbita returns to Srikandhi to ask her blessing before he becomes King of Ngima-imantaka. Everyone in Ngamarta is busy with the preparations for the marriage of Janaka's daughter, Sugatawati with Samba, Kresna's son. Janaka shoots Nirbita in the eye. Whether it is Nirbita's form that embarasses him — Nirbita being a giant — or the fact that he is Srikandhi's son, is unclear.

mentions seven women, Hardjowirogo discusses fifteen, Suwandono has entries on about 170 women and Mulyono has articles on thirteen women.[33]

A woman (or man) does not have to identify solely with one particular wayang character. It is possible that someone could identify with different characters in different situations. Identification with a character can be based on shared physical characteristics or life situations as well as ideals.[34]

In assessing Anderson's statement that Srikandhi is "the exact opposite of Sumbadra", we have to remember that princesses are not the only type of women in wayang. The rakseksi, the female forest demon (see illustration on page 4a), with her wild, uncontrollable nature, could more exactly be seen as Sumbadra's opposite.

No woman would identify with the rakseksi, however many women may identify to some degree with the court servants, Limbuk and Cangik, rather than aspiring to the lofty ideals of one of the princesses. Limbuk and Cangik's concerns are more like those of the average woman: Cangik worries about what her daughter is doing, and Limbuk worries about her career and/or whether she will get a husband. Limbuk and Cangik appear in the kedhatonan (women's section of the palace) scene of a wayang performance, which takes place early in the night, when women are most likely to be watching — as much as women ever are. The section featuring Limbuk and Cangik is used for instruction on matters of particular concern to women, such as family planning. It is also one of the few scenes in wayang where women are portrayed without reference to their

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[33]Anderson (1965), however does not mention a smaller ratio of women to men than his Indonesian counterparts. In his paper he discusses 39 men to 7 women, i.e. women make up 15% of the total. (In Appendices II and IV he also mentions and shows pictures of a further 11 men and 5 women: 31% of the total.)

Hardjowirogo (1965) discusses about 100 men to 15 women: 13%

Suwandono (1980?) mentions about 610 men to about 170 women: 21%

Soetarno (1987) mentions about 240 men to 45 women: 15%

[34]A lot of identification is based on physical attributes or other external factors. In 1976 I often attended wayang performances with an American friend. I was plumper and younger than her, she was married, while I was not, and when together we were frequently referred to by the members of the gamelan troupe and dhalang as "Limbuk and Cangik".

In 1976 I often wore my hair in a ponytail, and this combined with my style of walking and general manner led to me being known as "Petruk". This also seems to indicate that gender may not be of primary importance for which wayang character someone is identified as/identifies with.

I have been called "Srikandhi" on such occasions as setting off somewhere alone at night on my bicycle, in other words when I have been doing something considered to be "brave".

relationships to men[35]: Limbuk and Cangik may be servants of the King, but they are not shown with fathers, brothers or sons. Male dhalangs often portray them trivially. Hatley (forthcoming) describes the princess in wayang as representing men's picture of an ideal woman, with the servants showing men's (negative) feelings of what women are really like. I have, however, seen them portrayed quite strongly by a female (and a few male) dhalang.[36]

Even if we keep the comparison to "noblewomen" - princesses and queens - it becomes clear that Srikandhi and Sumbadra represent character "types", rather than the two ends of the spectrum.

Srikandhi is not the sole example of a female warrior within the wayang tradition, nor is she the "champion" archer amongst women. Larasati, who is another of Arjuna's wives (or more technically in her case, a concubine), defeats Srikandhi in an archery match - indeed Srikandhi sets as one of the conditions of her marriage to Arjuna that he can produce a woman who can defeat her in archery.[37] Mustakaweni of Manimantika is another female warrior. In MUSTHAKAWENI she fights with Srikandhi and although she (in the shape of Gathutkaca) loses the battle with Srikandhi, she nevertheless cunningly manages to escape.

Nor is Sumbadra the most important example of an "aristocratic Javanese woman", devoted to her husband. Madrim throws herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, Pandu (Heroesoekarto 1975: 46). Kunthi, the other wife of Pandu, is an exemplary mother, going everywhere with the Pandhawa (Suwandono 1980?: 253).

The choice of Srikandhi and Sumbadra as exemplifying the two types of female role models may be due to the fact that they are often together as a pair, thus highlighting their differences. In Sunardi's version of SRIKANDHI MAGURU MANAH, Sumbadra talks of them being a pair when Srikandhi first arrives as Arjuna's wife: "You are now just like my flesh-and-blood sister. We will never be apart in this world now. We'll serve our husband together through thick and thin." (Sunardi 1987: 165, my translation).[38]

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[35]The only guaranteed "women's sphere" in a wayang performance is the talk between Limbuk and Cangik. Even in the rest of the kedhatonan scene as a whole, the wives and daughters are gathered to welcome the King home, and the news he brings from the Audience Hall is the topic of conversation. Of all the scenes in a wayang performance, the kedhatonan is the most frequently left out.

[36]A woman dhalang can use Limbuk as her "mouthpiece", just as a male dhalang often uses Petruk.

[37]In SRIKANDHI MAGURU MANAH: this is the case in Sunardi's account. In Kats' version the gender of the person who must defeat her is not specified.

[38]In SEKAR JATIKUSUMA the fact that Srikandhi and Sumbadra are a pair is also clearly shown. Arjuna is away and Srikandhi returns home to her father, Drupada. Sumbadra pines so much for Srikandhi that a messenger is sent to ask that Srikandhi return to Sumbadra.

Both Srikandhi and Sumbadra are married to Arjuna, who is one of the most popular Pandhawa, thereby giving them more prominence than many of the other women. Kunthi and Madrim for example are also a pair; they are both wives of Pandu. However not only are their differences less obvious, but they are of the generation above the Pandhawa. Mustakaweni is of the generation below the Pandhawa brothers. (She marries Bambang Priyembada, one of Arjuna's many sons.) She also started her connection with the Pandhawa as a spy, which hardly raises her to the same status! Whilst Larasati is a contemporary of Srikandhi and an equal as a warrior, as a concubine (rather than an official wife) she does not have the same status as Srikandhi and Sumbadra, which would probably account for her being drawn on less as a comparison with Sumbadra.

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There is some truth behind setting up Srikandhi and Sumbadra as opposites, and they certainly are used this way. However on closer examination it is clear that rather than being opposites, they are a pair of women who can be compared as well as contrasted within a wide-range of female wayang characters. As role models too they are not rigid, providing the opportunity to act in different ways under different circumstances. Their roles range from mother and wife to warrior, although they do not show the "nitty-gritty" aspects of being a woman, such as are shown by Limbuk and Cangik.

The parts that Srikandhi and Sumbadra play do not provide role models for women alone. Given the high proportion of male spectators and dhalang in Java, much of the interaction betwen female and male characters can also be seen as instructing men on their role with women. The very numerous lakon (the story/plot of the wayang) involving the abduction of Sumbadra remind men that their duty is to protect their wives.

Such protection is not always forthcoming, resulting in both Srikandhi and Sumbadra at times feeling constricted by their roles as women. They therefore need to disguise themselves as men. In studying the lakon MAKUTHARAMA, SUKSADADARI, PANDHAWA TUJUH, CAKRA NAGARA, ERANGBAYA and KANDHIHAWA one can only assume that if Srikandhi and Sumbadra are ideal pictures for women, then the lakon show that these ideals are impossible to live within.

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YA MARAJA OR YAMARAJA: NOTES ON A JAVANESE VERSE

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Sharada Rani, in her edition of *Ślokāntara*, deals extensively with diseases caused by (Skt.) *yamaniloka*.[2] In honour of her memory, I would like to consider, in the space of the next few pages, a verse in Javanese which is related to this subject.

Both Javanese and Balinese are acquainted with the threat posed to certain persons by the demonic deity Kala. His malevolent influence can only be expiated by the performance of a *wayang* (shadow play) which depicts the mythological origins of the threat as well as the reasons for its expiation.[3] On Bali, such a *wayang* is called "*sapu leger*," or "broom of the world." This name is also known on Java,[4] though the expiation is here called *ngruwat*, and the play (*lakon*) performed for this purpose bears the title "Murwakala."[5] In the play, the opponent of Kala is a *dhalang* (puppeteer) with the name of Kandhabuwana, who is none other than the god Wisnu in disguise. He breaks the power of the demon by reciting a series of spells (Jav.: *mantra*), several of which, the play makes clear, are written on the head and body of Kala, but can only be read by Wisnu. According to Hardjowirogo,[6] the gods have given man these spells so that he will have a weapon to defend himself against the powers of Kala.

The decisive spell seems to be the one on Kala's breast, an assumption supported by the fact that this spell alone is quoted by the Javanese authors who have dealt with

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[1]The author wishes to express his gratitude to Griffin Anderson, Hamburg, for his translation of the German original.

[2]Sharada Rani, "*Slokantara*, an Old Javanese didactic text, critically edited, translated and annotated." International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur/Delhi, 1957, pp 66-79.

[3]The reasons why expiation is necessary, and when, will be discussed below.

[4]Sapu jagad, see Van Hien, *De Javaansche Geestenwereld*, p 107.

[5]Tanojo, *Pakem Pangruwatan Murwa Kala*. For literature on the *ngruwat*, see Groenendael, *Wayang Theatre in Indonesia. An annotated Bibliography*, KITLV, Bibliographical Series 16, Dordrecht 1987; Koentjaraningrat, Javanese Culture, Singapore, 1985, pp 376-378.

[6]*Sedjarah wajang purwa*, p 45.

the *ngruwat* theoretically.[7] According to Hardjowirogo and Tanojo, respectively, the spell reads as follows:

Hardjowirogo	Tanojo
1 *Yamaraja jaramaya*	1 *Amaraja Jaramaya,*
2 *yamarani rinumaya*	2 *Amarani Rimmaya;*
3 *yasiraya yarasiya*	3 *Yasiraya Parasiya,*
4 *yasirapa parasia*	
	4 *Amisaya,*
	5 *Amidosa Sadumeya;*
	6 *Amidoro Rodomeya,*
	7 *Yamidosa Sadumeya;*
	8 *Yasiyaya Palasiya;*
	9 *Yasiyapa Parasiya,*
	10 *Amidosa Sadumeya.*
5 *lawagna lawagni*	11 *Nawanggana Nawanggeni,*
6 *si kutara si kutari*	12 *si Kuthara si Kutari;*
	13 *si Brenggala si Brenggali,*
7 *si kutaka si bintaki*	14 *si Bitapa si Bitapi*
8 *si durbala si durbali*	15 *si Durbala si Durbali;*
9 *si rumaya si rumayi*	16 *si Rumaya si Rumayi*
10 *si hudaya si hudayi*	17 *si Udaya si Udayi;*
11 *si srimaya gedah maya*	18 *si Srimaya Gedhahmaya,*
12 *si dayudi si dayuda*	19 *si Dayudi si Dayuda;*
	20 *Adiyoda aniyoda,*
13 *hadayudi nihujaya*	21 *Andayudi Niyudaya.*
	Hong na Muna maswahah.[8]

The first three lines of the two versions are strikingly alike; but the other lines as well contain so many similarities that their common source is evident despite substantial differences. Both are composed of eight-syllable lines, divided by a caesura into four-

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[7]Hardjowirogo, *Sedjarah Wajang Purwa*, p 45; Seno-Sastroamidjojo, *Renungan tentang Pertundjukan Wajang Kulit*, p 154; Tanojo, *Pakem Pangruwatan*, pp 38-39; Ranggawarsita, *Serat Pustaka Raja Purwa*, p 181. Inggris quotes totally different *mantra*.

[8]Orthography according to the rules of Ejaan baru. Division into words, punctuation and capitalization according to Hardjowirogo und Tanojo.

syllable hemistiches. Both spells are divided into two verses: after line four in Hardjowirogo's version and after line ten in Tanojo's. All the lines in the first verses, when written in Javanese script, are perfect or slightly deformed palindromes.

A clue to the meaning of the second verses is provided by the frequently repeated article *si*, which may be an indication that they are lists of names. More specifically, the repetition, in each line, of one root noun with alternating *-a* and *-i* endings leads to the conjecture that each line invokes a pair of deities, each composed of one masculine and one feminine member.

The fact that the spell is composed of two parts is confirmed indirectly by Ranggawarsita, who in his work *Serat Pustaka Raja Purwa* gives only one verse as the formula for expiation. It corresponds with the respective first verses of the spells quoted above. In Ranggawarsita's version, there are eight lines (each a perfect palindrome); they take the *girisa* verse form, regarded by the Javanese as a *sekar ageng* form.[9]

yamaraja jaramaya 1
yamarani niramaya 2
yasilapa palasiya 3
yamidoro rodomiya 4
yamidosa sadomiya 5
yadayuda dayudaya 6
yasiyaca cayasiya 7
yasihama mahasiya 8[10]

These three versions have many corresponding points, as one can see when they are printed synoptically:

Ranggawarsita	Hardjowirogo	Tanojo
1 *yamaraja jaramaya*	1 *Yamaraja jaramaya*	1 *Amaraja Jaramaya,*
2 *yamarani niramaya*	2 *yamarani rinumaya*	2 *Amarani Rimmaya;*
3 *yasilapa palasiya*	3 *yasirapa parasia*	3 *Yasiraya Parasiya,*
		8 *Yasiyaya Palasiya;*
		9 *Yasiyapa Parasiya,*
4 *yamidoro rodomiya*		6 *Amidoro Rodomeya,*

[9]R.Hardjowirogo, *Patokaning Nyekaraken*, Jakarta, 1952, p 12.

[10]*Serat Pustaka Raja Purwa*, p 181. Sajid, *Wedharing Sastra Harjendra*, p 13, gives a transliteration of this text, as well as a translation into New Javanese: it, too is taken from the *Serat Pustaka Raja Purwa*. His transliteration divides all the lines according to the following pattern: *ya maraja jara maya*. Thus, he uses the same pattern as Hardjowirogo and Tanojo. Ranggawarsita's translation shows that he understood the text in this way as well.

5 *yamidosa sadomiya*

5 *Amidosa Sadumeya;*
7 *Yamidosa Sadumeya;*
10 *Amidosa Sadumeya.*

6 *yadayuda dayudaya*
7 *yasiyaca cayasiya*
8 *yasihama mahasiya*

Ranggawarsita was not being arbitrary in quoting only the first verse of Hardjowirogo's and Tanojo's spell: other versions of this *ngruwat* formula, not quoted here, do the same,[11] and this makes it evident that he is in fact following a tradition. Thus it is justifiable for us to do this as well, and limit our considerations to the first part (or verse) of the expiation formula.

Ranggawarsita translates these lines into modern Javanese as follows:

1 *Heh, pangrancana mariya luwih,*
2 *heh, kang anekani hilanga kaluwihan nira,*
3 *heh, kang haweh luweha maregana,*
4 *heh, kang haweh malarat, hanyukupena,*
5 *heh, kang hanyikara mariya nangsaya,*
6 *heh, kang amerangi laruta kuwat ira,*
7 *heh, kang paracidra kogel welasa,*
8 *heh, kang dadi hama: yogya hasiha.*

An approximate translation into English gives us the following:

1 Oh, cease with your torture, it is too much!
2 Oh, you who falls upon us (with your plagues), spare us from your great power!
3 Oh, you who brings hunger, feed us!
4 Oh, you who brings poverty, give us wealth!
5 Oh, you who tortures, give no more pain!
6 Oh, you who attacks, retreat taking your force with you!
7 Oh, you false, unfaithful one, have mercy!
8 Oh, you who are plague and tribulation, have pity!

This paper will attempt to prove that Ranggawarsita's interpretation is secondary: that though his translation is an accurate representation of the way he and his cultural context percieved it, the original source of the verse is an invocation to Yama, and begins with a fervent "*Yamaraja*" — "King Yama." Ranggawarsita has forgotten this, and interprets the first syllable of the name as the interjection "*ya*" — "oh." The second

[11] e.g. Van Hien; see also Sajid.

syllable of the name Yama was thus mistaken for the morpheme *ma-*. In the version from the *lakon* "Murwakala," this morpheme has been replaced with the archaic-sounding *ama-*; thus we see that the connection of this spell with Yama has also been forgotten by the tradition to which this *lakon* belongs.

On Java, however, the connection has not been completely lost. This can be attested outside the *wayang*, in the practice of magic. In a *mantra* collection entitled "Kidungan Purwajati,"[12] Tanojo has handed down a verse taken from a magic drawing. Its words are the same as Ranggawarsita's version of the spell, and the collection even takes over his translation. As in the *Serat Pustaka Raja Purwa*, the verse is called *kalacakra* — "wheel (or disk) of Kala." In an attached drawing, this *cakra* is depicted as a wheel with eight spokes, and recalls a lotus flower with eight petals. On each spoke is written one complete line of this formula. The symbol for *ya*, first in all the lines, is placed in the hub, graphically the most prominent position in the drawing. Also, this character is much larger than the others. This is hardly consistent with the interpretation of *ya* as an interjection. The central *ya* is on a line with the spoke which leads horizontally to the right; on this spoke are the remaining seven syllables of the first line. In addition, it is said that this *kalacakra* is to be found on Kala's breast, and that only Wisnu can read it. For this reason, Kala is afraid of Wisnu, and addresses him as "Father." It is said that his followers greatly fear Wisnu as well. This is exactly what we are told in the *wayang*.

In *Kidungan Purwajati*, this *kalacakra* is used in a different way: according to a commentary by Tanojo, the Javanese attribute great power to it when used as magical protection for a house or as a child's amulet. To do this, a sacrifice is made, and a formula is recited which contains a threefold invocation of Kalamretyu, the god of death. The *kalacakra* is then written on paper three times, and the paper burned over incense. The ashes, knotted into a white cotton cloth, are either hung around the child's neck, or fastened to a house post or in the entrance. Tanojo proceeds to give a detailed list of the ills against which this *kalacakra* is effective; the list is clearly derived from the translation we considered earlier.

Tanojo's account contains two indirect mentions of Yama. Firstly, Kalamretyu (Skt. *kalamrtyu*) is a name of Yama. Secondly, if the graphic representation of the *kalacakra* is considered as representing the eight regions of the world, then we find that the first line of the spell is written on the spoke (ray) that symbolizes the South (Yama's region!), assuming that the *kalacakra* is oriented towards the East.

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[12]Tanojo, *Kidungan Purwajati*, pp 47-49.

one[13]
two[14]
three[15]
four[16]
five[17]
six[18]
seven[19]
eight[20]
nine[21]
ten[22]
eleven[23]
twelve[24]

In the use of such diagrams in the traditional calendar literature, this is customary practice;[25] and it corresponds to the custom in Balinese hymns as well, for in invocations of the *lokapala* (Skt. *lokapala*), they usually begin with the god of the East, but if a hymn is addressed to a particular deity, as in this case, then it may start from the region associated with that deity.

To throw more light on this verse, I should now like for us to turn our attention to Bali, where fragments of it are found as inscriptions on the body of Yama. This "Balinese excursion" seems valid to me, inasmuch as the close relationship between the Javanese *ngruwat* and the Balinese *sapu leger* is well known.

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[13]one
[14]two
[15]three
[16]four
[17]five
[18]six
[19]seven
[20]eight
[21]nine
[22]ten
[23]eleven
[24]twelve

[25]This was shown by an intensive study of Balinese *wariga* literature. Today, diagrams in printed Javanese almanacs are frequently oriented towards the North. For information on the *lokapala*, see Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E., *The Dikpālakas in Ancient Java.*

There, the inscriptions which mark Yama's body take two forms: first, the form of a lotus, and secondly, the form of a square. Before going on to consider two examples of the lotus form, we must clarify one other question: in which order should the lines be read? The script itself gives us no answer to this. (The question of where to begin the recitation is not problematical: it is evident that the formula itself begins at the central *ya* in graphic representations of the verse; and the first line of the verse, as we have seen in the Javanese *kalacakra* from the "Kidung Purwajati," is in line with this character.) To clarify this question of sequence, I would like to recall, first, the sequence used by Balinese priests in their hymns invoking the *lokapala* (here, the association of a world region to each deity is clearly defined), and second, the distribution of the (Skt.) *dasaksara* on a lotus used in magic drawings.[26] Basically, there are four possibilities: either one reads clockwise, to the right (Skt. *pradaksina*), which corresponds to the motion of the sun, and hence the world order; or one reads left (Skt.*apasavya*), a direction which, because it reverses the world order, is frequently used in black magic; further, one can read through each of the eight directions one after the other; or one can distinguish between the principal and the intermediate directions, reading the principal directions first, and then the others. It was the position of the second hemistich that was finally decisive in indicating which method should be used: in all the Javanese versions available to me, the sequence of *yamaraja* for the first hemistich and *yamarani* for the second was never varied.[27] In the graphic representations under discussion here, the first line of the verse is indicated by the orientation of the character *ya* in the center: as in the Javanese *kalacakra* from the Kidung Purwajati mentioned above, the first hemistich is on a line with this character.

The first example I would like to consider is an amulet that shows Yama in the form of a *dewa*.[28] This amulet protects "against the dread kepuh tree, characteristic of graveyards, or other sinister trees, sudden declivities, and 'hot' courtyards."[29] On his body, Yama carries an eight-petaled lotus. Its center, with the syllable ya, is located at about the navel (Skt.*muladhara*). Starting at the South, and proceeding in the *pradaksina* direction, we read:

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[26]Sources: Goudriaan/Hooykaas, *Stuti and Stava*; Hooykaas, *Tovenarij op Bali*; same author, *Drawings of Balinese Sorcery*.

[27]In addition to previously quoted sources, I would like to mention van Hien, *De Javaansche Geestenwereld*, *Primbon Mantra ghaib*, and *Primbon Wedamantra*.

[28]Hooykaas, op.cit. p 143.

[29]Hooykaas, loc.cit.

1 S *yamaraja*
2 SW *yamarani*
3 W *yasihara*
4 NW *yananeni*
5 N *yayaddhawa*
6 NE *yamedeśa*
7 E *yasiraja*
8 NE *yamedoro*

We note that there are three hemistiches which also belong to the Javanese verse. This total can easily be expanded to four if we assume that, in the long chain of transmission, a lengthening diacritical was lost in line six, and that originally, *yamedosa* was read instead of *yamedesa*. Similar to the *kalacakra* from the Kidungan Purwajati, this Balinese drawing is also read in the *pradaksina* direction, and starts in the South, Yama's region. In contrast, only the first hemistiches are given: the second hemistiches are obtained when one realizes that, having read from the center of the blossom to the end of the petal, one must reverse direction and read back to the center before beginning with the next line. Thus the construction of the verse in palindromes is to be explained.

The second example is also an amulet. The Balinese commentary[30] on this picture explains that it is a representation of Yamaraja, and that it serves as an (Skt.) *atmaraksa*, "protector." Fastened at the head of a bed, it protects from dangers that threaten life; malevolent persecution, for example, or diseases, several of which are named.

The drawing on the amulet is a representation of the god Yama in demonic form: a mighty demon resembling the Kala of the Javanese *wayang*. Around him are eight weapons, placed to mark the eight directions (regions). An eight-petaled lotus ornaments his breast and belly. The tip of the lowest (vertical) petal is at the navel: the position of its center with the syllable *ya* cannot be localized exactly; but the orientation of the character again indicates that the beginning lies in the South. As the syllabes *yamarani* are allocated to the South-West, I shall proceed in the *apasavya* direction, that is, counterclockwise:

1 S *yamaraja*
2 SE *yamarani*
3 E *yamahade*[6]
4 NE *yamenaya*

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[30]Hooykaas, *Toovenarij*, No. 114.

5 N *yaniwara*
6 NW *yanawati*
7 W *yanayoda*
8 SW *yanayoni*

That this reading method, with its leftward rotation, is correct, is shown by a glance at the phonetic structure of the verses. If we observe the distribution of the syllables, with particular emphasis on the consonants, we get the following scheme:

Line	1st	2nd	3d	4th syllable
1	*ya*	*ma*	*ra*	*ja*
2	*ya*	*ma*	*ra*	*ni*
3.	*ya*	*ma*	*ha*	*de*[31]
4.	*ya*	*me*	*na*	*ya*
5.	*ya*	*ni*	*wa*	*ra*
6.	*ya*	*na*	*wa*	*ti*
7.	*ya*	*na*	*yo*	*da*
8.	*ya*	*na*	*yo*	*ni*
	1	2	4[32]	8 syllables

Their regularity is obvious. This is not arbitrary; it has to be intentional. For further consideration below, we should note that a total of fifteen consonants are sufficient to the text. This amulet, then, is more or less a counterpart to the first: when portrayed in his form as *dewa*, the lotus on Yama's body is to be read in the direction symbolizing the cosmic order; when shown in his demonic form, it is to be read in the opposite direction, symbolizing the dissolution of this order.

We can recognize the same syllable distribution as being at the base of the Javanese *kalacakra*. However, it is necessary to assume that over the course of time, the third line has been put into the wrong position and that the transmission of two syllables (syllable 2 of line 6; syllable 3 of line 8 or 3) is likewise corrupt. By placing the third line at the end, we get the following:

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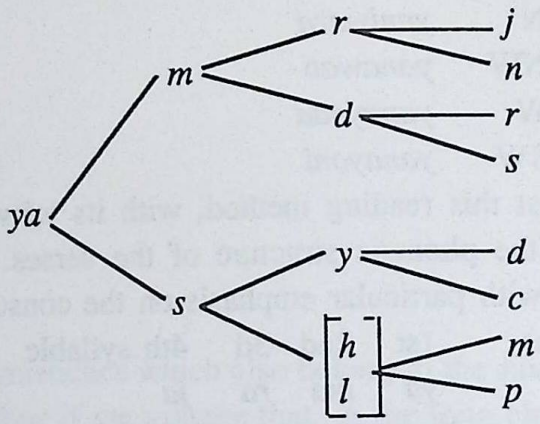
[31] *do*?

[32] There is an inconsistency in lines 3 and 4. I assume that there must either be two *ha*'s or two *na*'s.

1	*ya*	*ma*	*ra*	*ja*
2	*ya*	*ma*	*ra*	*ni*
4	*ya*	*mi*	*do*	*ro*
5	*ya*	*mi*	*do*	*sa*
6	*ya*	*da*	*yu*	*da*
7	*ya*	*si*	*ya*	*ca*
8	*ya*	*si*	*ha*	*ma*
3	*ya*	*si*	*la*	*pa*



Thus it is quite conceivable that a similar lotus was the origin of Ranggawarsita's verse, particularly as we see that the graphic representation in the Kidung Purwajati preserves the lotus idea.

There is a two-line verse, called a *puja yamaraja*, that shares even more lines with the Javanese verse than the second amulet considered above. Hooykaas mentioned it in his treatise on the important Balinese *ekadasarudra* ritual:

Yamaraja sadomeya, yamedoro dayodhaya
yasancaya niramaya, yadayani niramaya[33]

We can easily find four hemistiches of the verse transmitted by Ranggawarsita, namely, *yamaraja*, *sadomeya*, *yamedoro* and *niramaya*. If the Balinese puja is "completed" by reading its lines as palindromes, it contains four lines, that is, half as many as the Javanese verse. Although Hooykaas dismisses these lines (which appear elsewhere in Balinese sacral literature as part of a highly complicated invocation to Yama[34]) as "stammerings," he nonetheless supplies an important clue to their interpretation; he relates them to two represations of Yama in his demonic form, in which the characters of this text appear in the fields of a square on Yama's body.

The first square is seen in a drawing from Boda Kling, and has five fields on a side, or twenty-five in all:

ni	*ra*	*ra*	*ja*	*sa*
ya	*ma*	*ma*	*me*	*do*
ñca	*sa*	*ya*	*ma*	*do*

[33]Hooykaas, *Balinese Baudda Brahmans*, pp 202-203. The arrangement of the syllables into four-syllable units is mine.

[34]Hooykaas, *Agama Tirtha*, pp 66-67.

ra ma da da ro
ni ni ya yo dha

The first and last syllables of each hemistich of the *puja* are in the center. Thus, the twenty-five fields of the square contain all thirty-two syllables of the verse. To read the first hemistich, one starts at the center and reads vertically upwards (*ya-ma-ra*), turns right at the periphery (*pradaksina*) and reads to the corner (*ja-sa*), descends one field and returns to the center (*do-me-ya*). The remaining hemistiches are obtained by repeatedly turning the square 90o to the right and repeating the same movements.

The second square[35] we will discuss makes a more unified impression than the one from Boda Keling; as far as it is legible, none of its fields are duplicates. It is found on a statue, a representation of Yama, which occupies the center of a small square in Kaba-Kaba; four large stones indicate unmistakably the four principal directions. The inscription itself is divided into nine fields, three on a side:

ni	*ra* *ma*	*ja*
yo da	*ya*	*ma śo*
?	*kṣa* *ya*	*ṣa*

Each of the principal directions or regions has two syllables, and the intermediate regions, one. The verse is recited by starting with the syllable *ya* in the center and moving through one of the principal direction fields to a corner field. Either direction of rotation may be chosen: *pradaksina* (*ya-ma-ra-ja*) or *apasavya* (*ya-ma-ra-ni*). Once the corner has been reached, a palindrome may be formed by returning to the center along the same path. Note that in doing so, the rotation is reversed: this counteracts the

[35]Hooykaas, *Balinese Baudda Brahmans*, pp 204-205.

rotation begun on the "way out."[36] Of course, a square only has four corners, and can provide only four syllables for the final syllable of the first four-syllable hemistiches: thus, such a square, we may conclude, can be the source neither of Ranggawarsita's verse nor of the Balinese amulet. However, the squares do clarify the intellectual context which leads to the Javanese verses: more clearly than even the amulets, they explain why only one of the initiated, such as Wisnu in the *wayang*, can read the script on Kala's body, although it is clearly visible. Furthermore, both the eight-petaled lotus and the ninefold square, as *kalacakra*, are symbols for the universe. We know that the eight lotus petals and the analogous eight fields on the periphery of the square represent the protectors of the world regions and the powers (*sakti*) that are peculiar to them: the center, in contrast, represents the godhead which expands to fill the world, and in so doing, releases the protectors of the regions from himself by a process of division (Skt. *kala*). The reciprocal rotation of the *kalacakra* during the recitation of the verse, which generates the palindromes, evokes the disturbance of divine order by the demonic power of Kala/Yama (*apasava*) and its restoration (*pradaksina*). This corresponds to the two forms of magic: black (Bal. *pengiwa*, from *kiwa*, left) and white (*panengen*, from *tengen*, right). Yama, as protector of the southern region, has his counterpart in Wisnu, the protector of the northern region. The Balinese think of North and South as *kaja* and *kelod*, as exponents of the fundamental duality of creation, *rua bineda*. This concept plays a significant role in Javanese thought, for example in the conflicts in the *wayang* between the "right" forces of the Pandawa and the "left" ones of the Korawa.[37]

one[38]
two[39]
three[40]
four[41]
five[42]

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[36]In the sense of *rua bineda* (see below).

[37]Koentjaraningrat, *Javanese Culture*, pp 446-449; comp. Magnis-Suseno, *Javanische Weisheit und Ethik*, Munich, 1981, p 151 ff. The complementary function of these elements is impressively depicted in the Old Javanese *Korawasrama* (ed. by Swellengrebel, Santpoort 1936).

[38]one

[39]two

[40]three

[41]four

[42]five

six[43]
seven[44]
eight[45]
nine[46]
ten[47]
eleven[48]
twelve[49]
thirteen[50]
two[51]
three[52]
four[53]
five[54]
six[55]
seven[56]
eight[57]
nine[58]
ten[59]

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[43]six
[44]seven
[45]eight
[46]nine
[47]ten
[48]eleven
[49]twelve
[50]one
[51]two
[52]three
[53]four
[54]five
[55]six
[56]seven
[57]eight
[58]nine
[59]ten

eleven[60]
twelve[61]
eleven[62]

If the square represent the protectors of the world regions and the powers (*sakti*) that are peculiar to them: the center, in contrast, represents the godhead which expands to fill the world, and in so doing, releases the protectors of the regions from himself by a process of division (Skt. *kala*). The reciprocal rotation of the *kalacakra* dmmuring the recitation of the verse, which generates the palindromes, evokes the disturbance of divine order by the demonic power of Kala/Yama (*apasava*) and its restoration (*pradaksina*). This corresponds to the two forms of magic: black (Bal. *pengiwa*, from *kiwa*, left) and white (*panengen*, from *tengen*, right). Yama, as protector of the southern region, has his counterpart in Wisnu, the protector of the northern region. The Balinese think of North and South as *kaja* and *kelod*, as exponents of the fundamental duality of creation, *rua bineda*. This concept plays a significant role in Javanese thought, for example in the conflicts in the *wayang* between the "right" forces of the Pandawa and the "left" ones of the Korawa.[63]

Yet the verse invoking Yamaraja is more closely related to the nine-celled square than even this palindromic structure would seem to indicate. In order to make this clear, we will first consider the reasons for performing the expiation ceremony.

Firstly, in the Balinese *sapu leger*, all persons born in the *wuku* named *wayang* are potentially exposed to Kala's threat; their birth is "wrong," because this time of birth is reserved for the *wayang*.[64]

Secondly, in the Javanese *ngruwat*, authors list differing reasons.[65] They center around two points. The first is the wrong order of births in a family: unfavorable are, for example, *ontang-anting*, only one child; *kedhana-kedhini*, only two children, namely

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[60]eleven

[61]twelve

[62]eleven

[63]Koentjaraningrat, *Javanese Culture*, pp 446-449; comp. Magnis-Suseno, *Javanische Weisheit und Ethik*, Munich, 1981, p 151 ff. The complementary function of these elements is impressively depicted in the Old Javanese *Korawasrama* (ed. by Swellengrebel, Santpoort 1936).

[64]e.g. Hooykaas, *Kama and Kala*, Chap. 13.

[65]e.g. Hazeu, *Een Ngruwat-Voorstelling*, p 326f; Hardjowirogo, *Sedjarah*, p 45; van Hien, *Javaansche Geestenwereld*, p 290-292; Seno-Sastroamidjojo, *Renungan*, pp 147-149; Koentjaraningrat, *Javanese Culture*, p 377; Tanojo, *Pakem Pangruwatan*, p 9-10 and 19-20.

one boy and one girl; *pancuran kapit sendhang* (fountain between wells), three children, namely two girls with a boy between them; and *sendhang kapit pancuran* (well between fountains), three children, namely two boys with a girl between.[66] Such constellations can be seen as "wrong," provoking a threat from Kala, because the birth of Kala himself, according to Javanese mythology, was unnatural: the sperm of his father, Guru/Siwa — or Indra, according to the version related in Bagelen and recorded by Inggris — grew into this demon outside his mother's body. The beginning of one of the expiation formulae in Bagelen alludes impressively to a "right" conception: "*Tes putih saka si bapa, tes abang saka si ibu*," "the white (sperm) drop from the father, the red one from the mother."[67] The second complex is connected with rice: threats from Kala are provoked by mishaps while cooking rice such as upsetting the pot, or by the breaking of a mortar.

Thirdly, the invocation of Yama in the *puja yamaraja* of the Balinese *ekadasarudra* ritual is imbedded in invocations of *kala* deities. Before their recitation, "*pancadasa-kalaya*," "fifteen Kala" are beseeched to become Yamaraja. After the recitation of the verses, these fifteen kala are invoked by name.[68] Of these, nine are familiar to me from Balinese calendar literature as deities who govern certain time periods, for the most part days of the *wuku* cycle.[69] We cannot rule out the possibility that the others, too, are to be interpreted in this manner. One of these is *bhattara kala*, who in this context is probably the god of time *per se*. But in both the Javanese and the Balinese *wayang*, "Bathara Kala" is both title and name of the god which requires expiation.

Thus, Yama's influence in time is unambiguously expressed. The effect of time (periods), particularly those of the *wuku* cycle, according to Balinese tradition,[70] is also expressed in a square of nine fields which represents the eight world regions grouped around the center, and their lords (*lokapala*), who as planetary deities, also govern time periods.[71]

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[66]Seno-Sastroamidjojo indicates further interesting irregularities that can occur during the birth itself. However, he obviously derived these from Ranggawarsita, *Serat Pustaka Raja Purwa*. I agree with Hazeu (op. cit. p 327) that his statements here on the *ngruwat* are unrealistic.

[67]Weck, *Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali*, Stuttgart, 1937, p 106f.

[68]Hooykaas, *Balinese Baudda Brahmans*, p 202-203.

[69]See below.

[70]These calculations are common in Javanese almanacs.

[71]This square is often found on painted calendar pictures of the *wuku* cycle, but can be inferred from almanac information (e.g. Anandakusuma, *Prembon Bali Agung*).

Square of the World Regions

East

6 *sukra*	5 *redite*	8 *respati*
4 *soma*	8	9 *sanescara*
1	7 *buda*	3 *anggara*

The square, oriented towards the East, uses numerical values to indicate the effective powers (*sakti*) of the gods. Into this square are integrated all the divisions of the Javanese / Balinese 210-day cycle of thirty seven-day weeks, the *uku* or *wuku*. This cycle, also called *odalan* or *oton*,[72] determines the birth days of the gods (*odalan*) and of men (*otonan*), as well as the time of rites of passage; further, it regulates a series of ceremonies which are connected with the cultivation of rice. The myth which relates the origin of these weeks, known both on Java and Bali in almost identical form,[73] identifies it unmistakably as a rice cycle. Twenty-seven of the thirty weeks sprang from the incestuous union of the sisters Sinta and Landep (the first two weeks) with Watugunung (the last week), the son of Sinta. The incest is made possible by the young Watugunung's leaving his mother after a quarrel while she is occupied cooking rice. Watugunung and his sons revolt against the gods, and are destroyed by Wisnu, but on the entreaties of Sinta, they are resurrected and taken into Wisnu's body. With the subjection and expiation of the thirty weeks, Wisnu and his consort Sri, the rice goddess, are also cleansed of the sin of an incestuous relationship.

According to the *wariga*, texts used for divination on Bali, whose content — and perhaps a part of the texts themselves — go back to the Hindu-Javanese epoch, the square quoted above is related to a magic square which plays a significant role in the arts of

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[72] *Odalan* is the polite (*halus*) form of *oton*.

[73] Covarrubias, *Island of Bali*, 7. Ed., New York, 1956, p 314; *Babad Tanah Jawi*, Olthof (ed.), pp 7-11; Padmosoekotjo, *Silsilah wayang purwa I*, p 43 f; Hardjowirogo, *Sedjarah*, p 55.

magic and divination in the Indonesian archipelago.[74] It has nine fields numbered from 1 to 9, the sum 45 and the constant 15:

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6[75]

As mentioned above, fifteen is also the sum of the syllables used in the verse of the amulet that depicts Yama in demonic form. The source of Ranggawarsita's spell is probably composed of fifteen syllables. In the *ekadasarudra* ritual, fifteen kala are mentioned by name, after being previously mentioned collectively in the ritual as the *pancadasakalaya*.[76] In the calendar itself, the number 15 refers to the number of lunar days (*tithi*) of the moon's phases, as well as to the *wuku* cycle with its twice fifteen *wuku*. In addition, periods of fifteen days in the calendar itself are marked by the return of the significant day *kajeng kliwon*.[77]

At this point, let us summarize. The Javanese verse, as handed down by Ranggawarsita, is found elsewhere both in *ngruwat* and on amulets. As far as can be determined from published texts, it has undergone fewer changes on the amulets than in the *wayang*. This may be due to the differences in the forms of transmission: oral in the case of the *wayang*; written for the amulets. In both traditions, it is known as an inscription on Kala's breast which only Wisnu can read.

Significant parts of the verse are also to be found on Bali. Here, it is the god Yama who wears them on his breast, as in the *ekadasarudra* ritual. In plastic representations, the lines are either written on a lotus, or in the fields of a ninefold square. Thus the connection to a *cakra* or *mandala* is evident. On Java, the connection of these verses to the god of death is still evident, both in the exorcism of Kala Mrtyu while making the amulet, and in certain attributes and characteristics of Kala. Similarly, the relation to the

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[74]This is demonstrated by, among others, the *kuncang-kancing* oracle described by Berthier-Sweeney, *Tenung*, pp 195-199.

[75]According to a manuscript in the author's possession.

[76]Hooykaas, *Balinese Baudda Brahmans*, p 202.

[77]The number 15 is also important converting from lunar to solar days by the *pangalihan* process.

world regions in the magic drawing in the Kidungan Purwajati had been preserved. According to another source, eight of these drawings are to be affixed to the posts of a house in the course of a clockwise perambulation.[78]

Also known as a *kalacakra* in the Balinese *wariga* literature, the ninefold square is a symbol of the *wuku* cycle, which is related to the growth cycle of rice, the life cycle of men, and the birth days of the gods. Just as "wrong" births (births on certain days of the *wuku* cycle) must be expiated in the Balinese *sapu leger*, "wrong" births (in the sense of the number and sequence of children) must likewise be expiated in the Javanese *ngruwat*. And, in requiring expiation for mishaps in the preparation of rice, the *ngruwat* recalls the *wuku* cycle's affinity to rice.

In the *ekadasarudra* ritual, demonic gods of time are envoked by reciting the corresponding lines, and their identity with Yama is emphasized. The Javanese tradition has forgotten this identity. While Kala is a dangerous and feared deity, Yama is perceived there rather as a subordinate, "small" deity whose portrayal does not lack humoristic features.

Further, the examination of Balinese tradition shows that on Bali, these verses, which on Java are still recognized as *kalacakra* stemming from tantric ritual, have retained an inherent power that transcends any questions of semantic meaning, correct pronunciation, or correct sequence of recitation.[79] The comparison with a verse on a Balinese amulet seems to indicate that there were originally fifteen syllables from which the sixty-four syllables of the eight-line verse were formed by means of a particular distribution. Their particular order possibly symbolizes the universal processes of creation and destruction, of evolution and involution. Further, the number fifteen seems to relate to a magic square that stands at the origin of this cosmogram, and which can be attributed to the epoch of the Balinese *wuku* cycles.

Many questions remain open: for example, what significance lies in the distribution of syllables among the fields of the magic squares on the breast of Yama? Is it perhaps the result of numerological calculations? Such questions can only be answered by one who is capable of examining these texts in the light of Indian tradition. For my part, I can only recommend such an investigation to another; to one who has grown up

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[78] *Kitab Wedamantra*, S.24.

[79] I am referring to D.J.Hoens, "Transmission and Fundamental Constituents of the Practice" in: S.Gupta, D.J.Hoens and T. Goudriaan, *Hindu Tantrism*. (Handbuch d. Orientalistik 2.Abteilung, 4,2. especially pp 90-114).

in and is thoroughly familiar with Indian culture; to one who combines broad knowledge and intellectual penetration; in short, to the one who would follow in the footsteps of Sharada Rani.

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THE MANGKUNAGARAN PALACE AND THE HINDU-JAVANESE LEGACY

Moehammad Hoesodo Pringgokoesoemo
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The first ten centuries of Indonesian history is marked by Indian influence, especially in Java. Tens of Hindu and Buddhist temples are scattered in the central and eastern part of the island, of which the Prambanan and the Borobudur are the biggest. It is remarkable that they are even bigger than the temples in the land of origin.

The Javanese people are proud to have their own alphabet, of which the characters have evolved from the Pallava script. Hundreds of Sanskrit words are found in the Javanese language. Beautiful tales from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata epics are still told through wayang performances. The shadow play dates back as far as the eleventh century, while the wayang wong — which is a presentation of the story through dance, music and drama — did not begun until ca. 1860 during the reign of Prince Mangkunagoro IV.

His grandson Prince Mangkunagara VII (1916-1944) refined the wayang wong performance until it reached a sophisticated state of development. Rabindranath Tagore, visiting him in 1928, was very impressed by the wayang wong performance given in honour of his visit. Dr A. Baudisch who attended it, heard the great poet saying: "We have written the Mahābhārata, but the Javanese dance it."

Prince Mangkunagara VII was also known as a collector of relics from the Hindu period of Javanese history (5th to 15th century). His palace in Solo is like a museum, because the relics which are kept there number in the hundreds, comprising gold, silver, bronze and copper statuettes and various ornaments, as well as daggers and lances.

Thousands of people have seen and admired them, and still thousands will follow, because the Mangkunagaran Palace is open to the public. They have observed (or: will observe) that Javanese culture is unthinkable without Indian influence.

28.3.1990

KONSEP RAJA SAKTI DI JAWA PADA JAMAN KUNO

(concept of sacral kingship in ancient Java)

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Dalam sebuah buku yang berjudul 'The early state' Professor H.J.M.Claessen dan Peter Skalnik (1978) mempersembahkan hasil kajian sekelompok ahli antropologi dan sejarah mengenai bentuk-bentuk negara yang pra-modern. Dalam studi itu antara lain disoroti prinsip raja sakti atau "the principle of sacral sovereignty". Mengenai prinsip ini dikatakan oleh Peter Skalnik (1978:615): "Raja itu merupakan poros negara pra-modern. Terkadang-kadang diri raja malah diidentifikasikan dengan negara. Biasanya baginda dianggap sebagai orang sakral. Inilah sifat yang terpenting sebagai seorang pemimpin, yang lagi diperkuat oleh hubungannya dengan tenaga gaib." Sayang sekali Indonesia dalam buku Claessen dan Skalnik ini tidak mendapat perhatian, padahal konsep raja sakti di Indonesia cukup penting dan mempunyai segi sosial-budaya yang sangat menarik. Karena itu barangkali tidak salah jika di sini kita bicarakan konsep raja sakti di Jawa pada jaman kuno dan hubungannya dengan keadaan di Kambodia dalam abad ke-9 yang mendapat cukup perhatian dalam buku tersebut.

Hikayat raja-raja Tumapĕl dan Majapahit yang kita semua kenal dengan nama Pararaton (Brandes 1920:19) mengandung cerita tentang suatu pertempuran yang bersejarah. Pada tahun 1222—demikianlah bunyi cerita itu—raja Daha (Kediri) bernama Ḍangḍang Gĕnḍis dialahkan oleh seorang hambanya bernama Ken Angrok, yang menjadi akuwu atau adipati Tumapĕl. Sang prabu meninggalkan lapangan perang mencari tempat pengungsian di angkasa, bersama kudanya dan diiringi oleh hamba-hambanya yang terdekat. Mulai saat itu bukan raja Daha-lah lagi yang berkuasa di pulau Jawa, melainkan Ken Angrok.

Peralihan kuasa yang dilaporkan dalam kitab Pararaton ini tidak terjadi dengan begitu saja. Kekalahan raja Daha adalah akibat dari perkembangan tertentu yang mendahuluinya, suatu perkembangan yang menjadikan peristiwa tersebut tadi memang tidak terelakkan.

Apakah yang telah terjadi sebelum itu? Pada suatu hari raja Ḍangḍang Gĕnḍis memerintahkan para *bhujangga,* yaitu para brahmana dan pandita dari haluan Śaiwa dan

Boddha, supaya mulai saat itu mereka menghormatinya dengan mengangkat sembah. Sang raja mengaku diri identik dengan Batara Guru, yaitu Siwa. Oleh karena itu segala brahmana dan pandita, sebagai manusia biasa, patut menghormatinya dengan sembah, sebagai tanda mereka mengakui baginda sebagai junjungan yang lebih mulia daripada mereka.

Akan tetapi para *bhujangga* menolak perintah itu. Brahmana tidak biasa menyembah raja. Dan, oleh karena raja Daha teguh pada pendiriannya, maka mereka meninggalkan keraton Daha dan melarikan diri ke Tumapĕl. Di situ petinggi Tumapĕl, Ken Angrok, minta kepada mereka supaya ia diangkat raja. Dan di samping itu Angrok juga meminta izin untuk menamakan diri Batara Guru. Sesudah itu ia langsung memerangi raja Daha, dengan hasil seperti yang tersebut tadi.

Cerita ini menurut anggapan saya tidak mengandung sejarah yang benarbenar terjadi, melainkan bersifat dongeng. Akan tetapi, meskipun dongeng, tidak kurang pentingnya bagi kita, sebab cerita ini merupakan bagian dari mitos tentang asal-usul dinasti Majapahit. Fungsinya ialah untuk membuktikan bahwa dinasti Kediri tidak didukung lagi oleh dewata mulia raya, karena dinasti itu sudah kehilangan kewibawaan dan patut diganti. Informasi semacam itu, meskipun dalam bentuk ringkas saja, juga diberikan dalam kakawin Nāgarakĕrtāgama (40:3-4). Raja Daha yang dialahkan di sini disebut dengan nama Kĕrtajaya (1202-1222). Ia tidak mengungsi ke dewālaya atau kayangan yang bergantung di awang-awang, tetapi melarikan diri bersembunyi di pertapaan sunyi pada lereng gunung. Cerita dalam Nāgarakĕrtāgama itu dihidangkan dalam hubungan kunjungan raja Hayam Wuruk ke suatu tempat yang bernama kagĕnĕngan. Di Kagĕnĕngan ini terdapat dua candi, satu berhaluan Śaiwa, satu Boddha. Kedua-duanya didirikan untuk raja Ranggah Rājasa, yaitu Ken Angrok, yang dianggap sebagai asal mula dinasti Majapahit. Dalam kedua teks yang bersangkutan, Pararaton maupun Nāgarakĕrtāgama, kedudukan dinasti Majapahit sebagai keluarga raja yang berkuasa di seluruh tanah Jawa dipersangkutkan dengan kejayaan Ken Angrok dalam pertempuran di dusun Ganĕr pada tahun 1222 itu.

Mengapa cerita Pararaton ini begitu penting bagi kita? Pentingnya ialah bahwa di sini secara eksplisit dihubungkan tiga hal, yaitu: 1. *martabat* seorang raja cakrawartin sebagai maharaja-adiraja yang menguasai seluruh dunia Jawa; 2. *kedigdayaan* seorang maharaja sakti sebagai penjelmaan Batara Guru, yaitu Siwa; 3. *peranan mahapenting* yang dimainkan oleh bhujangga keraton untuk mewujudkan serta memeliharakan identifikasi sang raja dengan dewa tertinggi itu.

Teranglah agaknya bahwa Ken Angrok merebut kekuasaan dengan siasat militer. Tetapi sukses usaha itu hanya terjamin berkat identifikasi Ken Angrok dengan batara Siwa. Jika kita hendak melihat bagaimana identifikasi itu dapat terjadi, kita perlu meninjau beberapa bagian lain dari teks Pararaton. Dalam berbuat demikian perhatian kita terarah kepada tiga segi dari kepribadian Ken Angrok, yaitu: 1. *watak* Angrok sebagai manusia; 2. *relasi* Angrok dengan para dewata; 3. orang yang menjadi *jodoh* Angrok.

Kitab Pararaton mulai dengan introduksi singkat tentang penjelmaan Ken Angrok yang lalu, inkarnasinya yang dahulu. Waktu itu ia seorang penjahat yang memutuskan hubungan dengan keluarganya. Ia lari mencari perlindungan di pertapaan Mpu Tapawangkĕng di Bulalak. Ini bukan sebarang pertapaan. Kita kenal Mpu Tapawangkĕng dari kitab Tantu Panggĕlaran (Pigeaud 1924:178 dst.). Mpu Tapawangkĕng adalah penjelmaan batara Brahma. Pertapaannya tidak jauh dari Daha dan Mpu Tapawangkĕng mengabdi pada keraton Daha. Dalam kitab Tantu Panggĕlaran tokoh batara Brahma itu dilukiskan sebagai khalik atau dewa pencipta manusia Jawa jenis laki-laki dan, di samping itu, ia juga menjadi pandai besi yang pertama di pulau Jawa. Asosiasi ini penting berhubung dengan lanjutan cerita kita tadi.

Dalam kitab Pararaton diceritakan bahwa Mpu Tapawangkĕng membuat gapura untuk pertapaannya. Dewa pintu meminta korban manusia (kambing merah) untuk bangunan itu. Ken Angrok bersedia menjadi korban, tetapi dengan syarat bahwa dalam penjelmaannya yang kemuadian ia akan lahir sebagai seorang yang jadi pemegang kuasa dan tetap dalam keadaan itu selama tujuh *maṇḍala*. Syarat itu diterima dan Ken Angrok meninggal dunia sebagai korban untuk pertapaan Mpu Tapawangkĕng. Apabila telah dekat waktu Ken Angrok akan menjelma lagi sebagai manusia, batara Brahma bersetubuh dengan wanita muda bernama Ken Ḗndok, isteri seorang petani bernama Gajahpara, dari dusun Pangkur. Lalu lahirlah Angrok, tetapi ia segera ditinggalkan oleh ibunya di pekuburan kanak-kanak. Seorang pencuri bernama Lembong yang liwat di tempat itu melihat bayi yang bercahaya kepalanya. Ken Angrok dibawanya pulang, lalu dibesarkan. Akhirnya Angrok mencapai umur dewasa sebagai penjudi, pembegal dan penggoda wanita.

Apakah makna cerita ini?

Dengan pengorbanan badan sendiri untuk kepentingan Agama Ken Angrok memenuhi salah satu syarat untuk menjadi *cakrawartin*, yaitu syarat *tapabrata*. Sebab, kesediaan Angrok untuk dijadikan korban manusia berarti ia melakukan tapa yang

seberat-beratnya, yaitu tapa sampai mati. Tetapi Ken Angrok tidak dapat melakukan itu seorang diri. Ia membutuhkan pembimbing. Pembimbingnya itu ialah Mpu Tapawangkĕng alias batara Brahma sendiri. Dalam penjelmaan sebagai Mpu Tapawangkĕng Brahma menolong Ken Angrok dengan tapabratanya meninggalkan dunia fana ini. Dan dalam tubuh dewa yang berkeliling di dunia, Brahma menolong Ken Angrok untuk *lahir* kembali ke dunia dalam inkarnasi baru, yaitu dengan jalan membuntingkan wanita yang bakal melahirkannya. Jadi batara Brahma terang bertindak di sini sebagai "pembuat raja" atau, menurut istilah Inggerisnya, sebagai "a king maker".

Brahma memberikan kepada Ken Angrok wataknya sebagai orang yang penuh nafsu keranjingan, tetapi juga menjadikan Angrok mempunyai kesaktian luar biasa seperti yang dimiliki oleh seorang raja besar. Hanyalah, selagi ia belum mencapai kedudukan raja yang menungguinya itu, Angrok adalah "anak panas" dan berbahaya bagi orang-orang sekelilingnya.

Ken Angrok juga minta supaya dalam kehidupannya yang baru ia tetap menjadi orang berkuasa selama tujuh *maṇḍala*. Dalam aliran tantrisme sebuah maṇḍala adalah lingkaran sakti tempat orang melakukan perbuatan sihir. Dalam konteks cerita Ken Angrok, ini berarti bahwa Angrok minta jadi raja tujuh kali, yaitu satu kali untuk dia sendiri dan enam kali untuk anak-cucunya. Jadi, pendeknya, Angrok minta menjadi pendiri dinasti. Menurut konsep Jawa satu dinasti idealiter terdiri dari tujuh raja yang turun-temurun memegang kuasa selama waktu satu abad.

Teranglah agaknya bahwa dalam cerita Pararaton ini Ken Angrok dianggap sebagai makhluk biasa. Ia memang seorang manusia istimewa, tetapi tetap makhluk Tuhan. Sifat kedewaan yang diperolehnya oleh identifikasi dengan Batara Guru itu diturunkan kepadanya sebagai anugerah dan tidak merupakan sesuatu yang dimilikinya sebagai bagian kepribadiannya sendiri. Ini menimbulkan pertanyaan tentang *sifat* relasi yang menghubungi Ken Angrok dengan Batara Guru. Dan kemudian timbul pula pertanyaan bagaimana relasi Angrok dengan dewa ketiga dari trimurti Hindu, yaitu batara Wisnu?

Relasi antara Ken Angrok dan Siwa dijelaskan dalam episode berikut dalam kitab Pararaton. Pada halaman 8 diceritakan Angrok pergi bertapa di tempat suci bernama Keḍung Paniṭikan. Dengan perantaraan seorang nini yang berjaga di situ ia mendapat wejangan dari kayangan menyuruh dia pergi ke gunung Lĕjar. Pada hari Rabu, bulan gelap, di wuku Warigadyan para dewata akan berkumpul. Ken Angrok pergi, lalu bersembunyi di dalam tumpukan sampah. Disertai bunyi guntur dan petir para dewa turun dari langit. Angrok sekarang mendengar Batara Guru memberitahu bahwa ia mempunyai

putera yang lahir dari wanita dusun Pangkur. Putera ini-demikianlah kata Batara Guru-akan mengukuhkan pulau Jawa. Angrok lalu keluar dari tempat persembunyiannya. Para dewa memandang dia dan mengaku setuju ia menjadi raja dengan nama penobatan Batara Guru. Lain daripada itu Ken Angrok disuruh mengaku bapak kepada seorang brahmana bernama Lohgawe yang baru tiba dari India. Brahmana Lohgawe ini meninggalkan India karena, waktu ia sedang memuja arca Wisnu terdengar suara dewa ini, menyuruh dia pergi ke Jawa. Sang dewa berkata: "Di situ aku menjelma dalam manusia bernama Angrok. Di situ, dalam penjelmaan itu engkau harus mengikut aku.

Dari cerita ini ternyata bahwa Ken Angrok mempunyai empat orang bapak, yaitu: 1. batara Brahma; 2. pencuri Lembang; 3. Batara Guru (Siwa); 4. brahmana Lohgawe. Teranglah bahwa istilah "bapak" dalam konteks ini dipakai dengan makna yang agak luas, yaitu dengan arti "seorang pelindung yang menghiraukan nasib seseorang". Batara Brahma adalah ayah Ken Angrok yang sebenarnya: ialah yang beryoga pada Ken Angrok. Pencuri Lembong, sebagai penjahat, cocok sekali untuk menjadi ayah angkat yang membesarkannya, yaitu meneruskan pekerjaan Brahma selagi Angrok belum jadi raja. Batara Guru mengambil alih peranan Brahma dan mendukung Angrok sebagai orang yang bakal jadi raja. Apabila Ken Angrok sudah memegang kuasa ia boleh bertindak atas nama Batara Guru yaitu Siwa.

Dewa ketiga dari trimurti Hindu juga hadir dalam konfigurasi ini, tetapi peranannya lain. Wisnu tidak mengaku anak kepada Angrok, melainkan menjelma kepada tubuhnya, sehingga Angrok dapat disamakan dengan Rama atau Kresna. Dalam hubungan ini boleh dicatat bahwa dalam cerita ini ada tekanan pada perlunya bantuan brahmana Lohgawe bagi Angrok. Sebagai penjelmaan atau awatara Wisnu Ken Angrok tidak dapat berjuang sendirian, melainkan ia membutuhkan bantuan spirituil seorang pendeta penasehat.

Sekarang masaalah jodoh. Siapa yang menjadi jodoh Ken Angrok sebagai bakal raja, dan peranan apakah yang dimainkan oleh tokoh ini? Menurut cerita Pararaton Angrok mempunyai isteri dua, yaitu Ken Ḍĕḍĕs dan Ken Umang. Daripada mereka berdua itu Ḍĕḍĕs-lah yang memainkan peranan utama. Semua raja Singhasari dan Majapahit adalah turunan Ken Ḍĕḍĕs. Siapakah tokoh Ken Ḍĕḍĕs yang begitu penting peranannya dalam sejarah Jawa?

Ḍĕḍĕs adalah anak Mpu Pūrwa, seorang bhujangga Boddha aliran Mahāyāna. Mpu Pūrwa bertapa di *pasetran* dekat dusun Panawijen. Anaknya diculik dan diambil isteri oleh *akuwu* Tumapĕl bernama Tunggul Amĕtung. Mpu Pūrwa kemudian mengutuk si penculik dan bersumpah bahwa ia tidak akan menikmati perkawinan dengan anaknya

sampai kenyang (*ora tutug*). Ini berarti bahwa Tunggul Amĕtung akan mati sebelum ia beranak dengan Ken Ḍĕḍĕs dan tidak akan menarik manfaat apa-apa dari sifat Ḍĕḍĕs yang istimewa. Adapun Ken Ḍĕḍĕs sendiri, menurut sumpah bapaknya ia akan mendapat kebahagiaan besar.

Ken Angrok dan Lohgawe memperhambakan diri pada Tunggul Amĕtung. Pada suatu hari Angrok menyaksikan bahwa bagian rahasia Ken Ḍĕḍĕs bercahaya. Lohgawe menjelaskan bahwa wanita demikian adalah *ardhanārīswarī*. Artinya: lelaki yang mengawini dia akan menjadi ratu *cakrawartin* atau maharaja-adiraja. Angrok terus memutuskan akan merebut Ken Ḍĕḍĕs. Tunggul Amĕtung dibunuhnya dan Ken Ḍĕḍĕs dikawininya. Lalu ia mengganti Tunggul Amĕtung sebagai pemegang kuasa di daerah Tumapĕl. Bersama dengan Ken Ḍĕḍĕs Ken Angrok merupakan *ardhanārīswara*, yaitu satu pasangan Śiwa-Durgā. Potensi untuk menjadi *cakrawartin* sekarang sudah ada. Namun demikian Angrok tidak secara otomatis memperoleh kedudukan itu. Untuk identifikasi Angrok dengan Siwa itupun diperlukan pertolongan bhujangga keraton sebagai pengantara. Dan apabila para bhujangga Śaiwa dan Boddha dari keraton Daha lari ke Tumapĕl, baru tibalah saatnya Ken Angrok dapat dinobatkan dengan nama *abhiṣeka* "Śrī Rājasa Bhaṭāra Sang Amūrwabhūmi".

Apakah makna cerita ini?

Dengan *tapabrata* yang terus-menerus ayah Ken Ḍĕḍĕs mengumpulkan kesaktian yang besar sekali. Kesaktian itu dipindahkan kepada Ḍĕḍĕs dan menyebabkan bagian rahasia Ḍĕḍĕs itu menyala. Ini berarti bahwa ia akan melahirkan anak-anak yang jadi maharaja. Istilah "*rājasa*" dalam nama penobatan Ken Angrok diturunkan dari kata Sanskerta *rajas*. Perkataan *rajas* berarti "kotoran haidh", tetapi juga "nafsu", "kegairahan" dan "*tejas*" yaitu "cahaya panas". Kata jadian *rājasa* berarti "mempunyai sifat rajas". Dan bentuk jenis feminin dari perkataan itu, yaitu *rājasī*, adalah salah satu dari nama-nama batari Durgā, isteri Siwa dalam bentuk yang menakutkan. Jadi, berkat tapabrata ayahnya yang hebat dan mengerikan di tempat pembuangan mayat (*pasetran*), Ken Ḍĕḍĕs dapat menjadi ibu keluarga raja-raja Siwa. Sesuai dengan itu brahmana Lohgawe menamakan dia "ardhanārīśwarī", artinya "gusti yang setengah laki-laki setengah perempuan". Patung *ardhanārī* dikenal dari arkeologi Jawa. Rupanya seperti orang yang sisi kanannya seperti laki-laki, sedangkan sisi kirinya adalah seperti wanita rupanya. Salah satu contoh yang terkenal ialah Hari-Hara Ardhanārī yang ditemukan di Singhasari dan yang disimpan di Museum Berlin. Menurut Dr. W.F.Stutterheim inilah suatu patung yang menggambarkan raja Kĕrtanagara.

Ayah Ken Ḍĕḍĕs adalah penganut Buddha aliran Mahāyāna. Ditel ini menitikberatkan bahwa pendeta Boddha ikut memainkan peranan dalam penobatan Angrok dan Ḍĕḍĕs. Salah satu implikasi ialah bahwa di bawah pemerintahan Angrok dan Ḍĕḍĕs penganut Siwa dan penganut Buddha akan bersatu. Sesuai dengan itu pengarang Pararaton menceritakan bahwa penobatan Angrok dilaksanakan oleh bhujangga Śaiwa dan Boddha dan di bawah pimpinan brahmana Lohgawe dari India. Dan sesuai pula dengan ini pengarang Nāgarakĕrtāgama. Prapanca, mengabarkan bahwa untuk Ken Angrok didirikan dua buah candi di Kagĕnĕngan, satu dari haluan Śaiwa dan satu lagi dari haluan Boddha.

Tadi telah dikatakan bahwa Ken Angrok menurut penggambarannya dalam Pararaton di satu pihak merupakan *awatara* atau titisan batara Wisnu, sedangkan di pihak lain ia menamakan diri Batara Guru, jadi ia mengaku diri *identik* dengan Siwa. Ini merupakan suatu kontradiksi. Memang betul Wisnu dan Siwa digambarkan sebagai satu identitas tunggal dalam tipe patung yang terkenal sebagai Hari-Hara atau "Wisnu yang jadi Siwa", tetapi sebagai penjelasan motif cerita, ini dirasa belum memuaskan.

Suatu hal yang penting dalam hubungan ini ialah bahwa raja-raja Daha (Kediri) dari Jayabhaya ke bawah dianggap sebagai inkarnasi atau *awatara* Wisnu. Ini terlihat dari nama-nama penobatan mereka, yang mengandung unsur-unsur sebagai berikut:

a. *madhusūdhanāwatara*, artinya: *awatara* atau inkarnasi dari pembunuh Madhu; ini nama yang dipakai oleh raja Jayabhaya (1135-1157) dan oleh raja Aryeśwara (1169-1175);

b. *janārdhanāwatara*, artinya: *awatara* dari dewa yang menggairahkan orang; ini nama yang dipakai oleh raja Sarweśwara I (1159-1161);

c. *triwikramāwatara*, artinya: *awatara* dari dewa yang menjelajah buana dengan tiga langkah; ini nama yang dipakai oleh Kameśwara II (1182-1185) dan oleh Sarweśwara II (1194-1200).

Ketiga nama ini, Madhusūdhana, Janārdhana dan Triwikrama, ialah julukan yang berulang-ulang dipakai dalam epos Mahābhārata untuk menunjukkan batara Wisnu.

Melihat nama-nama penobatan raja yang terdiri dari rangkaian kata-kata Sanskerta, kita mendapat kesan bahwa pelantikan seorang raja ialah suatu upacara dimana kaum bhujangga memainkan peranan yang penting sekali, terutama mereka yang menguasai bahasa Sanskerta dan yang mengenal tradisi-tradisi India. Cerita dalam Pararaton tentang penobatan Ken Angrok sesuai dengan tradisi kerajaan Daha (Kediri), dimana seorang raja baru dalam pelantikannya ditonjolkan sebagai inkarnasi Wisnu.

Fiksi Pararaton, di mana Ken Angrok di satu pihak dinyatakan identik dengan Wisnu, karena ia merupakan *awataranya,* sedangkan di pihak lain ia identik pula dengan Siwa, karena ia boleh memanggil dirinya 'Batara Guru', juga terdapat dalam kakawin Bhāratayuddha yang selesai ditulis pada tahun 1157 oleh Mpu Sĕḍah dan Mpu Panuluh atas perintah raja Jayabhaya. Relasi Jayabhaya—Siwa langsung dinyatakan dalam bait no.4, yang isinya sebagai berikut:

> Lekaslah engkau terima anugerahku kepadamu, anakku Jayabhaya, rakyat semua hendaklah mendengar";
>
> Bahagialah engkau, raja, semoga engkau sebagai cakrawartin di seluruh dunia mengalahkan musuhmu;
>
> Selanjutnya moga kita tetaplah sejiwa, anakku, dan moga engkau terus-terusan memerintah sebagai batara di dunia;
>
> Demikianlah sabdanya serius, yang serentak diamini oleh jemaah resi di langit (Gunning 1903:1).

Kemudian, dalam bagian penutup, kanto 52 bait no.4, diceriterakan bahwa batara Wisnu sedih melihat nasib pulau Jawa. Oleh karena tidak ada pelindungnya maka pulau Jawa yang indah ini dikuasai oleh penjahat dan lama-lama hancur lebur. Wisnu mengambil keputusan akan turun ke bumi lagi untuk menjelma kepada raja Jayabhaya.

Alhasil, apabila kita bandingkan potret Ken Angrok dalam kitab Pararaton dan potret Jayabhaya dalam kakawin Bhāratayuddha, ternyata bahwa dasar kesaktian kedua raja itu sama, tidak berbeda samasekali. Dan tidak heran kita apabila kita ketahui dari bait no.2 kanto pertama bahwa raja Jayabhaya pun dilantik oleh orang brahmana yang terkemuka, dan oleh resi Śaiwa dan Boddha.

Bagaimana pula kedudukan raja *pertama* dari dinasti Kediri, maharaja Airlangga (1019-1049)? Suatu perbedaan penting dengan Ken Angrok ialah bahwa Airlangga mempunyai sebuah *silsilah.* Silsilah ini terkandung dalam inskripsi Sanskerta pada batu bertulis yang tersimpan di Museum Calcutta, yaitu prasasti OJO 62 dari tahun 1041 (Kern 1917: VII.85-114). Oleh silsilah ini Airlangga dihubungkan dengan Mpu Sindok Śrī Īśānawikrama Dharmottunggadewa (929-948), penerus dinasti Mĕḍang di Jawa Timur. Di samping itu Airlangga dihubungkan pula, melalui perkawinannya, dengan raja Jawa yang dahulu (*purwayawādhipa*), Dharmawangśa Tĕguh Anantawikrama (991-1006/7), seorang kerabat (*sambandhin*) yang mengambilnya menantu (bait 13). Keraton maharaja Dharma-wangśa Tĕguh hancūr diserang musuh waktu orang sedang berpesta. Pada tahun 1010 Airlangga dilantik sebagai raja oleh rakyat dan brahmana yang terkemuka (bait 15). Satu persatu Airlangga mengalahkan musuhnya (bait 16-29). Penobatan Airlangga sebagai

maharaja yang menguasai seluruh pulau Jawa baru terjadi pada tahun 1037. Pada tahun itu, pada hari Kemis tanggal terakhir bulan Kārtika "sri raja pulau Jawa" (*śrī Yawadwīparājo*) duduk di atas singgahsana, setelah menaruh kaki di atas kepala musuh-musuhnya (bait 30). Kini, setelah ia menaklukkan seluruh negeri, Airlangga mendirikan pertapaan besar dan mulia di lereng gunung Pūgawat (bait 31-34).

Sesuatu yang menarik hati dalam teks Sanskerta ini ialah bahwa Airlangga dipotret di sini sebagai manusia biasa. Kekuasaannya tidak didasarkan atas identitas dengan dewa apapun. Dalam prasasti ini legitimasi kekuasaan Airlangga didasarkan atas tiga hal, yaitu: 1. silsilah yang menghubungkan Airlangga dengan Mpu Sindok; 2. perkawinan Airlangga dengan putri raja Jawa terakhir yang keratonnya dihancurkan musuh; 3. pelantikan Airlangga sebagai raja yang dilakukan pada tahun 1010 oleh rakyat dan brahmana yang terkemuka. Jikalau kita bertanya apakah Airlangga tidak dianggap sebagai raja sakti, seperti cicitnya Jayabhaya atau usurpator Ken Angrok, jawabannya ialah: dalam prasasti Sanskerta konsep *awatara* atau inkarnasi batara Wisnu tidak disebut. Hanya satu unsur dalam teks ini menghubungkan Airlangga dengan Wisnu: dalam bait 12 Airlangga dibandingkan dengan *awatara* Wisnu yang ketujuh, Sri Rama.

Tetapi untuk potret Airlangga sebagai raja *cakrawartin* yang berkuasa atas seluruh tanah Jawa juga penting kita meneliti isi inskripsi Jawa kuno di batu bertulis Calcutta ini. Inskripsi itu menyangkut perkara identik, yaitu: pendirian pertapaan di gunung Pucangan (Pūgawat) sebagai penutup kampanye militer yang bertahuntahun lamanya. Inskripsi ini berisi akte pemberian tanah berasama ketentuan-ketentuan tentang hak-hak istimewa dan disertai motivasi atau alasan, seperti yang biasa pada prasasti-prasasti pemberian tanah untuk pendirian candi atau biara. Bagi kita teks inskripsi Jawa kuno ini mengandung beberapa ditel yang patut diperhatikan, yaitu:

1. Sesudah penentuan tanggal terus menyusul nama penobatan lengkap (*abhiṣeka*) raja Airlangga (baris 2).

2. Disebut bahwa Airlangga bernadar hendak mendirikan pertapaan yang bersangkutan pada waktu terjadi malapetaka yang mengakibatkan kehancuran keraton pada tahun 1006 dan kematian "*mahārāja dewatā*" yang dicandikan di *dharma parhyangan* di Wwatan (baris 5-6).

3. Airlangga dilindungi oleh para dewata sebab ia "kelihatan seperti manifestasi Wisnu" (*kunang ri sākṣāt iran wiṣṇumūrtti, rinakṣa ning sarbwadewata*) (baris 8).

4. Sesudah Airlangga dilantik sebagai raja dan didudukkan di atas singgahsana, ia memberi hormat kepada "śrī mahārāja haji dewatā' yang berkubur di Īśāna-bajra, serta dilantik sebuah *halu* sebagai '*kapratiṣṭhān śrī mahārāja*'. Karena itu raja dilantik oleh

pendeta Boddha dan Śaiwa dan mahābrahmana pada tahun 1019 dengan gelar *Rakai Halu* Śrī Lokeśwara Dharmawangśa Airlanggānantawikramottunggadewa (baris 13-15).

5. Dalam inskripsi inipun diberi laporan tentang musuh-musuh yang dialahkan oleh Airlangga (baris 16-30).

6. Airlangga menunaikan nadar dan mendirikan pertapaan di gunung Pucangan. Maksudnya ialah supaya pertapaan itu akan berfungsi sebagai mantera, pujian dan pemujaan yang terus-menerus ke hadapan batara Wisnu dan menjadi pelinggaan (*palinggān*) untuk dunia (baris 31-32).

Kedua inskripsi dapat dilihat sebagai saling melengkapi. Inskripsi Sanskerta secara formil menentukan identitas Airlangga serta menghubungkan ini dengan kedudukan dan perbuatannya. Sebaliknya inskripsi Jawa kuno primer menyoroti segi spirituil dari pendirian asrama, relasi Airlangga dengan para brahmana dan pendeta, penobatan baginda dan tujuan pendirian asrama itu. Dalam inskripsi Jawa kuno konsep raja sakti hadir. Airlangga dikatakan menyerupai manifestasi Wisnu. Mertua baginda, Dharmawangśa Tĕguh, disebut "mahārāja dewatā", begitu pula Mpu Sindok. Jadi dapat dipastikan bahwa konsep raja sakti dalam prasasti ini jelas dihubungkan dengan status dewa, sekurang-kurangnya setelah raja itu meninggal dunia. Di samping itu inskripsi ini mengandung lagi sebutir informasi yang menarik hati. Setelah Airlangga menghormati raja Sindok maka dilantiklah Halu, yaitu sebagai "kapratisthān śrī mahārāja" (artinya: tempat berdiri atau tempat bersemayam sri maharaja), dan karena itu raja dilantik dengan gelar "Rĕkai Halu.....". Benda apakah *halu* itu dan apakah arti gelar "Rakai Halu"?

Makna perkataan "halu" dalam konteks ini tidak terang benar. H.Kern (1917:VII.108) mencatat: "Kata *halu* ditemukan sebagai nama tempat dalam Kawi Oorkonde XXII baris 3. Walaupun dimuat dalam KBWdb. (1897:1.259), makna yang sebenarnya tetap tidak jelas." Dalam kamus Zoetmulder (1982) kata "halu" ditegaskan sebagai "semacam gada" (a kind of club). Dalam bahasa Jawa modern "alu" berarti "alat penumbuk padi" atau "gada". Dan di samping itu kata "halu" dipakai pula dalam gelar "mahamantri halu "atau, cara Jawa modern, "mantri alu".

Dalam beberapa teks Jawa kuno, seperti misalnya surat perintah Jaya Song, yang ditetapkan oleh raja Hayam Wuruk (Pigeaud 1960:I.104), pangkat "mahāmantri halu" disebutkan dalam konteks yang sama dengan pangkat "mahāmantri hino" dan "mahāmantri sirikan". Selanjutnya gelar "rakai hino" merupakan bagian dari nama resmi Mpu Sindok (929-948) dan Aryeśwara (1169-1174). Gelar "rakai sirikan" merupakan bagian dari nama resmi raja Kāmeśwara I (1115-1130) dan raja Sarweśwara I (1159-1161). Gelar "rakai halu", akhirnya, merupakan bagian dari nama resmi Mpu Sindok,

tetapi hanya dalam prasasti pertama yang dikeluarkan olehnya, yaitu pada tahun 929, dan kemudian sebagai bagian nama resmi raja Airlangga. Dan akhirnya dalam prasasti Pereng dari tahun 863 disebutkan bahwa: Rakai Walaing Pu Kumbhayoni adalah puyut *Sang Ratu i Halu.*

Kumbhayoni adalah nama samaran untuk *rĕsi* Agastya yang menyebarkan agama Hindu di India Selatan, dan Pu Kumbhayoni dari prasasti Pereng tentu identik dengan raja Kumbhayoni yang mendirikan tiga buah *lingga* di dataran Ratu Baka pada tahun 856. Kita bertemu pula dengan orang ini dalam prasasti no. D.28 dari tahun 856 (Casparis 1950:280-330). Dalam prasasti ini diberitakan bahwa putera mahkota yang melindungi pulau Jawa berhasil mengalahkan musuhnya bernama Wālaputra. Sesudah menang perang ia mengambil nama yang dipakai dalam keluarga brahmana yang sangat terhormat dan mendirikan keraton Mĕḍang di negeri Mamrati. Sesudah itu prabu Jātiningrat meninggal dunia dan keraton diambil alih oleh adiknya Dyah Lokapāla. Oleh karena ia sekarang mempunyai kuasa dan harta, sedangkan orang jahat menghentikan kegiatannya, maka tibalah waktunya ia mendirikan dharma. Itu sebabnya dibuat *halu* yang kini terlihat.

Nama brahmana yang sangat terhormat tidak lain ialah "Kumbhayoni" dan Dyah Lokapāla dari inskripsi ini dapat dipastikan identik dengan Rakai Kayuwangi Dyah Lokapāla (856-884) yang disebut dalam prasasti Wanua Tengah III sebagai pengganti Rakai Pikatan.

Apakah sebabnya Rakai Kayuwangi menyuruh membuat *halu*, dan apakah arti *halu* dalam konteks ini?

Seandainya kata *halu* itu merupakan nama tempat, maka gelar "Rakai Halu" atau "Rakai Hino" dapat dibandingkan dengan gelar "Bhre Kahuripan" atau "Bhre Daha" dari jaman Majapahit. Tetapi apabila kita bandingkan konteks di mana istilah *halu* dipakai dalam inskripsi OJO 62 dan prasasti D 28, ternyata ada kesamaan yang menarik perhatian. Kedua prasasti itu mengandung berita tentang seorang raja yang baru berjuang keras mengalahkan musuh. Apabila keamanan telah terjamin raja itu mendirikan candi atau pertapaan besar untuk memuja dewata. Dan dalam kedua prasasti itu ada sangkut-paut erat antara penobatan raja dengan pendirian *halu*. Melihat keadaan itu ada alasan untuk mengira bahwa kata *halu* tidak menunjukkan tempat melainkan fungsi. Jikalau selanjutnya kita perhatikan bahwa sebuah *alu* dengan *lumpangnya* sebetulnya tidak lain hanyalah miniatur *lingga* dengan *yoninya,* maka ada alasan kuat untuk mencari hubungan antara perkataan *halu* dari bahasa Jawa kuno dan *lingga* dari bahasa Sanskerta. Demikianlah dengan sendirinya kita mengikut kepada Professor De Casparis di mana beliau mengatakan: "*Halu* is an important word..... Its form suggests a lingga and it

is probable that the latter is meant here. The same is probably the case with the *halu* erected by Airlangga" (Casparis 1950:321).

Ada hubungan apakah antara penobatan raja dengan pendirian lingga? Pada tahun 1924 Professor F.D.K.Bosch menerbitkan karangan berjudul: "Het Lingga-heiligdom van Dinaya". Dalam karangan itu beliau memsicarakan inskripsi pada batu bertulis Dinaya dari tahun 760. Inskripsi Dinaya, bersama dengan inskripsi Sanjaya dari tahun 732, termasuk inskripsi tertua di Jawa yang menyangkut pemujaan lingga. Dalam nubungan ini Professor Bosch juga meminta perhatian untuk cerita Sanskerta berjuaul "*Dewadāru-mahātmya*", karena cerita ini merupakan dasar mitologi bagi pemujaan lingga di India kuno.

Dewadāru-mahātmya itu termasuk sastera Purāṇa dan a.l. terdapat dalam kitab Linggapurāṇa. Diceritakan bagaimana pada suatu hari *lingga* batara Siwa gugur disebabkan oleh kutuk orang *rĕsi* yang bertapa di hutan Dewadāru. *Lingga* Siwa, waktu jatuh ke tanah terus membelah bumi dan menembus ke pratala. Batara Siwa hilang kekuatannya lalu tertidur. Ini suatu malapetaka, sebab akan menyebabkan dunia hancur. Karena itu batara Brahma membangunkan Siwa dan mendesak supaya ia segera bersatu kembali dengan lingganya. Siwa setuju, tetapi dengan syarat bahwa para dewa dan brahmana selanjutnya akan memuja-muja lingganya. Batara Brahma kemudian membuat lingga emas yang lalu didirikannya di tempat itu. Ia menetapkan bahwa barang siapa membuat lingga dari emas-intan akan mencapai kedudukan tertinggi di dunia, dan inilah permulaan pemujaan lingga di India.

Dalam karangannya yang dikutip ini Prof. Bosch menunjuk pada peranan penting pemujaan *dewarāja* di negeri Kambodia dan Campa sebagai salah satu bentuk pemujaan lingga yang bertalian dengan kedudukan raja. Puja *dewarāja* dibawa ke negeri-negeri itu dari *Jawa*. Di Jawa puja ini dipraktekkan dahulu dalam rangka pemujaan Agastya. Bukti tertua dari pertalian antara pemujaan lingga, pemujaan Agastya dan kedudukan raja kita temui dalam inskripsi Canggal yang dikeluarkan atas nama Maharaja Sanjaya pada tahun 732, dan, di samping itu, dalam inskripsi Dinaya dari tahun 760. Relasi antara pemujaan lingga, pemujaan Agastya dan kedudukan raja juga terang sekali dalam prasasti D 28 dari tahun 856 yang dikutip tadi. Menurut bunyi inskripsi ini putera mahkota menamakan diri Kumbhayoni, yaitu Agastya, dan, pada waktu ia naik takhta ia mendirikan sebuah *halu*!

Maksud dan tujuan dari pemujaan *dewarāja* ternyata paling jelas dari inskripsi Kambodia yang terkenal sebagai inskripsi Sdok Kak Thom dari tahun 1052 (Finot 1915. Dari inskripsi ini kita ketahui bahwa puja *dewarāja* dimasukkan ke Kambodia oleh Maharaja Jayawarman II, pendiri dinasti Khmer. Jayawarman II lama tinggal di Jawa,

mungkin sebagai tahanan raja Śailendra Dharaṇīndrawarman (782-812). Sebagai *cakrawartin* raja-raja dari dinasti Śailendra menganggap dirinya sebagai penguasa tertinggi, bukan hanya di Jawa melainkan juga di Kambodia. Jayawarman II, karena ia hendak mendirikan kerajaan merdeka, yang tidak tunduk ke Jawa, harus meniadakan kuasa Jawa itu, bukan hanya secara militer, tetapi juga secara spirituil. Dan ini hanya mungkin jika ia memperoleh kedudukan *cakrawartin*. Maka untuk itu diperlukan puja *devarāja* (Coedés 1948:172).

Apakah yang disebutkan "dewaraja" itu?

Dewarāja ialah sebuah lingga mahasuci yang merupakan titik pemusatan *prāṇa* batara Siwa yang berapi-api. Disebabkan oleh ikatan mistik yang menghubungkan *dewarāja* dengan raja manusia maka dewarāja sekali gus merupakan *essensi kekuasaan raja*. Ia mendorong perkembangan ekonomi dan sosial dan menjamin Kesejahteraan negara. Dengan jalan itu ia merupakan *palladium* raja dan negara dan tidak pernah boleh meninggalkan raja. Apabila sang maharaja hendak berpindah tempat, memindahkan keratonnya, maka *dewarāja* harus mengikutnya. Ia disimpan dan dipuja di dalam sebuah candi yang berdiri diatas bukit dekat istana raja.

Dewarāja itu diperoleh dari batara Siwa dengan perantaraan seorang brahmana. Brahmana itu menyerahkannya kepada maharaja yang bertindak sebagai pendiri dinasti. Komunikasi raja manusia dengan *dewarāja* berlangsung dengan perantaraan pendeta yang bertanggung-jawab atas tata puja (Coedés 1911:46). Jayawarman II, supaya dapat berhasil memperjuangkan haknya atas kedudukan *cakrawartin* dan sukses melawan kuasa raja-raja Jawa perlu memiliki tenaga mistik dari batara Siwa. Tenaga itu diperolehnya melalui *dewarāja*. Tetapi sebelumnya lingga mahasuci itu turun ke dunia Jayawarman harus menaklukkan dahulu saingannya serta perlu mengamankan negeri.

Sesudah kembali dari Jawa, pada tahun 802, Jayawarman II bertempat tinggal dahulu di Indrapura. Seorang pendeta brahmana bernama Śivakaivalya lalu mengabdi kepadanya sebagai pendeta istana atau *purohita*. Pendeta itu mengikutnya kemana-mana. Setèlah negeri diamankan Jayawarman mendirikan keraton di atas bukit bernama Mahendraparwata. Atas undangan raja, seorang brahmana bernama Hiranyadāma, ahli, ilmu gaib, datang dari Janapada untuk melakukan puja yang diperlukan supaya Jayawarman dapat menjadi *cakrawartin*. Hiranyadāma kemudian melakukan puja menurut isi teks suci bernama Sang Hyang Vināśikha, lalu ia mendirikan *dewarāja*. Ia mengajar beberapa teks suci lain lagi kepada purohita Śivakaivalya serta memberi petunjuk tentang tata puja *dewarāja*. Raja Jayawarman II dan brahmana Hiranyadāma kemudian

bersumpah bahwa mulai saat itu hanya Śivakaivalya dengan anggauta keluarganya yang berhak melakukan puja *dewarāja* itu (Finot 1915: Chatterji 1930: Stern 1934).

Sejarah Jayawarman II ini menimbulkan kesan yang kuat bahwa puja dewarāja di Kambodia berasal dari *Jawa* dan sejarah ini penting sekali karena ia menyoroti institut raja sakti di negara-negara Hindu di Asia tenggara pada abad ke-8 dan abad-abad berikutnya. Untuk memperoleh status *cakrawartin*, yaitu kedudukan maharaja-adiraja tidak cukuplah seorang pendiri dinasti menaklukkan saingannya lalu mengamankan negeri. Kuasa tertinggi di tangan sang maharaja baru itu perlu *disahkan*. Dan legitimasi kekuasaan itu terjadi dengan jalan menurunkan lingga mahasuci, suatu pekerjaan yang dilakukan oleh seorang brahmana yang mempunyai keahlian dalam ilmu sihir dan dalam tata puja yang diperlukan. Lingga didirikan di dalam *pelinggaan* atau candi di puncak bukit atau di puncak bangunan berupa piramide, lalu menjadi pusat upacara yang diawasi oleh *purohita*, yaitu pendeta istana. Hanya dengan cara itu orang dapat menjadi *cakrawartin*.

Jelaslah bahwa dalam keadaan seperti ini para pendeta mendapat kekuasaan yang besar sekali. Raja itu raja sakti dan mempunyai perbawa besar. Tetapi kesaktian itu hanya dapat dikekalkan dengan pertolongan para *bhujangga*. Seorang raja yang terlibat dalam perselisihan dengan para *bhujangga* harus melawan golongan pegawai yang berpengaruh besar, pengaruh yang dapat mengalahkan kuasa raja. Para adipati yang takluk kepada sang maharaja dengan serta-merta dapat memberontak. Oleh karena mereka masing-masing mempunyai angkatan bersenjata pribadi, mereka langsung dapat menjadi musuh yang berbahaya. Apabila para *bhujangga* memihak kepada si pemberontak serentak terjadi keadaan genting, lebih-lebih karena para brahmana sebagai orang terpelajar memegang jabatan bermacam-macam dalam organisasi negara.

Inilah latar belakang cerita raja Ḍangḍang Gendis dalam kitab Pararaton. Raja Daha menghendaki supaya para *bhujangga* dan brahmana lain-lain menghormatinya dengan mengangkat sembah, artinya mereka diharapkan mengakui bahwa seorang raja satria lebih mulia daripada pendeta brahmana. Ini bertentangan dengan ideologi mereka. Mereka menolak. Waktu raja hendak memaksa mereka, mereka lari kepada adipati Tumapĕl yang kebetulan memberontak. Ken Angrok dilantik sebagai raja sakti dan langsung menjadi musuh yang ditakuti oleh prajurit Daha.

Di keraton Daha terdapat dua golongan pendeta yang berpengaruh, yaitu pendeta Wisnu dan pendeta Siwa. Oleh karena mereka itu bersaingan maka masing-masing menjalankan siasat untuk membantu raja menjadi raja sakti. Jadi para bhujangga Wisnu melantik raja Daha sebagai *awatara Wisnu*, sedangkan para bhujangga Siwa

menghubungkan raja dengan daya pencipta Siwa melalui puja *dewarāja*. Inilah latar belakang dari keadaan di jaman kerajaan Kediri di mana sang raja di satu pihak dihormati sebagai awatara Wisnu, sedangkan di pihak lain ia dikatakan "sejiwa" dengan batara Siwa.

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SASTRA HARJENDRA YUNINGRAT IN THE WAYANG

Soewito Santoso, Gamolan

> *Pan kawula nuwun rumiyin, ing sih paduka aminta wulang, pun ari saking punggunge, sastra cetha linuhung, maharjeng rat sarèhning inggih, gesang tan wun palastra, ing wusananipun, tuwin kang sastra harjendra, mugi-mugi jeng kaka luntura kang sih, paringa kanugrahan.* Because I want to ask your favour first, that is, I want you to instruct me in the great knowledge to gain happiness in the world (*sastra cetha maharjeng rat*), and because life will come to an end eventually, also the knowledge to acquire happiness for the human soul. May my brother have mercy and grant me your favour[1].

This is the conversation between King Sumali, the king of the demon race and Priest Wisrawa, who came to ask the hand of Sumali's daughter for his son King Danaraja of Langka. Readers will recall this episode from the Uttarakanda, but this particular point is derived from the Javanese wayang version, the text of which the puppetteer draws from the Serat Arjunasasrabahu or Lokapala, written by Yasadipura I or Yasadipura II, courtpoets of the kingdom of Kartasura and Surakarta, Central Java, centuries ago[2].

There are many discrepancies between the stories of the Uttarakanda and the wayang, and one of them is the danger of annihilation of the demon race that King Sumali faces in the hand of the deities in the Uttarakanda. In the wayang-story it seems to shift from race to individual. It is not the fate of the race that is in danger, but the fear of life after death, if one does not know a certain formula, great as it is to cancel anything unhappy or perilous. That great knowledge is called in Javanese (?) *sastra cetha* and *sastra harjendra hayuning rat*. The only trouble is that it is kept secret by the Lord of the world of action (*sinengker ing Sang Hyang Jagad Pratingkah*). In the Uttarakanda the name of the knowledge is not mentioned nor explained further, so that Supomo comes to the conclusion, that this great knowledge in the Javanese wayang is a knowledge that come into existence by cacography. The keyfigure in the story, the daughter of the

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[1]Mulyono 1987:117-43.

[2]a. Yasadipura I

b. Yasadipura II

demon-king Sumali, called Sukesi, who in contrast with her father's appearance, is a beauty amongst the human race (*sang stryahajĕng*). So Supomo concludes that *sastra harjéndra* comes from *stryahajĕng*[3]. I think that the problem is deeper than just cacography, because in most cases of my philological study of more than three decades, I have found out that these so-called cacography cases are mostly based on the degrading view of the great students of the Kawi-language of the 19th century towards the Javanese literati of yore. Since Kern down to younger generations of students the most classical blame the Javanese had to endure had been lack of knowledge of the Sanskrit or Indian original. Since then too a hell of protests had been heard from Javanese and Indian scholars[4], but alas it was like an outcry in the wild. So I will put aside this claim of cacography and look for the solution in another direction.

2. *What is the sastra harjéndra i hayuning rat* ? What this great knowledge that can save the demon race from destruction is like, the Uttarakanda does not remark upon, but it only mentions that it is well-guarded by the deities, what is reasonable enough, because the deities are the arch-enemies of the demons, and that Priest Wisrawa is the only one in the world amongst the human race who has knowledge of it. The wayang version however, has gone further than this, but not enough to see, as it were only to peep into it.

The text following the opening verse above, reads as follows[5]:

Alon dènya nahuri sang resi, inggih yayi prabu ta punika saéstu pangandikané, urip wasana lampus, tuwin ingkang madeg narpati, angèl bèh ing naréndra, ugering kaprabun, timbang lan patitisira, ing kamoksan kudu apahitan éling, tan kena pepékaa.

Calmly the priest replied: "Yes, majesty, my brother, what you say is correct, life ends up in death, even when you are a king. Everything is difficult for a king, the way he should behave as a king, in consideration (of a case) as well as taking the right decision. In the strife for salvation, the first requirement is *consciousness, awareness or remembrance,* and be utmost considerate.

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[3]Supomo 1964:177-87.

[4]See i.e.

a. Poerbatjaraka *Het Oud Javaansche Ramayana.*

b. Gosh, M., *On the Source of the Old Javanese Ramayana Kakawin.*

c. Sarkar, H.B. *The migration of Sanskrit Grammar ...*

[5]Mulyono: verses 13-15.

Nanging pun kakakng punika yayi, meksih kadhung sanget kekirangan, sang prabu mresudi ing rèh, inggih sawontenipun, pan atuntunan ugi, kéwala yayi nata, sarèhning puniku, kapanggih sami wong tuwa, sang yaksèndra gumujeng mundhut tumuli, sastra cetha harjèng rat.

"But my brother, I am still very inadequate." But the demon-king was most earnest in his plans. "Let us be content with what there is, let us help each other." "However you are the king my brother, (you make the decision), and because we are both old people." The demon-king laughingly then brought forth the book *sastra cetha harjèng rat.*

Sigra katur sang wiku nampèni, wus binuka sang danawaraja, winulang werdi rahsanè, sastra cetha puniku, purwakaning dumadi, lan dadining wekasan, dununging rahayu, mungguh sampating kamuksan, kasidaning laku, aja kongsi gempil, kéné praptèng ing kana.

Forthwith he handed it to the priest who received and opened it, and soon he was giving instruction to the demon-king concerning its meanings and secrets; the *sastra cetha* is concerned with the origin of existence and the future end of it, the abode of piety, the expediency and perfection of deliverence, the progress of the journey (of the soul) should not lack in anything, from departure till arrival.

So after the usual cordialities, the instruction begins. It seems that the demon-king has the book ready, it is only that he cannot study it on his own, and the priest Wisrawa is the perfect instructor in it. The *sastra cetha* or in full *sastra cetha* or *sastra harjéndra i hayuning rat,* seems to consist of several parts, i.e:

a. the origin and goal of existence which is the abode of piety

b. the journey of the soul which should be carried out in an expedient and perfect way, without lacking anything, since departure from this world to arrival in the hereafter.

If this is the case, it is no wonder that King Sumali wants it badly, to save his own soul and his race from the torture of hell fire, and it is again no wonder that his adversaries, the deities, are striving to the contrary, by guarding it with the utmost care, not to fall into the hands of the demons at all costs.

And the above give rise to more elements of developments in the wayang version or on the understanding of the Javanese, namely that it is not only the demon race that faces annihilation, but everyone and that the instruction of the knowledge is forbidden by the Lord of the world of action to all beings. The defiance of the prohibition is threatened

by severe punishment from the Supreme Being. And this shift of understanding brings forth the fact that the knowledge is never revealed by Javanese literati as well as the puppetteer in public. In the past decade when I came to meet someone who boasted or pretended or claimed to have the knowledge of the *sastra cetha,* he always declined to reveal it with the subterfuge to be alarmed with the retribution of the gods.

That is also the reason why in the performance of the shadow-play, the instruction of the *sastra harjéndra* has never been heard by the audience. When King Sumali receives the instruction from Priest Wisrawa, it is always whispered in his ears, and suddenly he changes his demonic countenance into that of a human being. And the instruction of Princess Sukesi by Priest Wisrawa is performed in the same way, with the prompt chastisement inflicted by the gods upon them, namely Priest Wisrawa falls in love with the princess and marries her, betraying his own son, King Danaraja. From this marriage demons (Rawana and his brothers) are born. This fact is regarded by the Javanese as the retribution of the gods, which the priest and princess have to endure, and the birth of their youngest son, Wibisana as a human being, is regarded by them and the Javanese people as the sign of their penitence being accepted by the gods.

Logically it does not need to be the case. There are a lot of cases of mixed marriages between human beings and demons, and the children born from these marriages have a demoniac appearance. In the Rāmāyaṇa[6], when Surpanakā fell in love with Rāma, she changed herself into a beautiful woman. In this case she was rejected by both Rāma and Laksmaṇa, but Princess Sukesi might be just like Surpanakā, that is taking the appearance of a beautiful human being. In the Ādiparwa[7], Hidimbī was a she-demon. In order to be accepted by Bhīma, she changed her appearance into that of a human being. The son, Gathotkaca, born from this union is described as follows[8]:

> *Yatheccha masanggama sira mwang sang Hidimbī. Manak ta sira rāksasarūpa, malandĕp sihung nya, mabāng mata nya, alwā tutuk nya, kadi lipung talinga nya, magöng awaknya, magöng wĕtĕng nya, agöng śakti nya, makĕral ya. Sangkan-sangkan raré marèng alas-alas tan atakut ing sarwabhaya. Tan palwang kayowanan i rūpa nya, atiśaya dĕrĕs ning lakunya, parĕng lawan manah gĕlis ning lampah nya, sakaśaktin ing rāksasa śakti nya..... towi katon ta ya rambut nyātöb mawĕrut-wĕrutan, kadi ghatākara lwir i gĕlung nya. Tasmad inaranan ta sang Gatotkaca...*

[6]Santoso 1980: 1.95-99.
[7]Santoso 1980: 1.141.
[8]Santoso 1980: 1.145-46.

> So, he was happily married to Hidimbī. She gave birth to a son, in the form of a demon. His canine teeth were sharp, his eyes were red, his mouth was large, the form of his ears was like that of a lance, his body was gigantic, his belly enormous, his prowess immense; he was greatly mighty. He wandered around in woods and forests without fear of any danger. His youthful appearance was perfect, he moved extremely fast, as speedy as the speed of his thought, his power was like that of a titan... Furthermore his hair was thick and kinky, his hairknot looked like a jar, that is the reason he was called Gatotkaca...

From the above we can see, that there is no reason to believe that the children born from the marriage of Priest Wisrawa and Princess Sukesi must be a manifestation of the wrath of the gods. But the misconception is there and this view has established itself in the passing of time, with the result that people are afraid of spreading and instructing the teachings.

However, what is the *sastra cetha harjéndra i hayu ning rat,* that is the name of the teachings in full, after construction from several sources[9]. We know the ingredients of it as mentioned above, but no material is revealed or known, through oral or written tradition. Let us try to know the lexical meaning first. As the Javanese meaning of *cetha* (clear obvious) cannot bring us any wiser, I try to find any information in the Sanskrit Dictionary of Monier Williams[10].

On page 382c we find:

cat : to fall into, to reach.
krama cat : steps to reach; the way to reach.

So from krama cat we can deduce *śāstra cat* (the knowledge to reach). In Javanese *maharjèng rat* can mean towards a happy/prosperous world. So if we combine *śāstra cat* in its Javanese form *sastra cetha* with *maharjèng rat* as found at the beginning of this discourse, we obtain the meaning of *the knowledge to reach the happy/prosperous world.* It seems fine, but I think it is a bit preposterous to combine *sastra cetha* (Javanese form with Sanskrit meaning) with *maharjèng rat* (Javanese form with Javanese meaning), though not impossible. I feel it is safer to continue to follow the Sanskrit track. The second phrase reads *sastra harjéndra i hayu ning rat.* The key-words seem to be the words *harja* and *indra* (*harjéndra*). On page 90a we find:

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[9]Yasadipura I + II and Mulyono.
[10]M. Monier Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary.*

arj > *arjati* : to acquire, to procure.
> *arjate* : to go, to gain, to earn.

On page 166ab we find:

indra : to subdue, to conquer; the human soul.

If we merge the words *arj* + *indra*, as the Javanese word suggests, then we come to several possibilities in the meaning, i.e. : the human soul to acquire, procure, gain or earn... Fortunately this variety of meanings do not contradict each other. if we combine the above renderings with the rest of the phrase, *sastra harjéndra i hayu ning rat,* than it can be translated as *teachings that enable the (human) soul to acquire, procure, gain or earn a happy world.* From whatever angle we look at it, it looks a very nice fit, but we must look into some questions that need serious consideration, i.e. : 1. Can we overlook the dictionary a little bit, because it renders the word *indra* with *the human soul.* 2. As in fact King Sumali is a demon, than the teachings will not be useful to him, and the deities do not need to guard it so painfully. 3. On the other hand if King Sumali or the demon race is only a variety of the human race, or in another expression, the soul inclines towards demonic or human nature, depending on its consciousness or awareness.

We will deal with these questions one by one. The first is whether we can overrule the dictionary and disregard the word *human* in its rendering to the word *indra.* In fact, the Javanese mss. have done so, because for example the Arjunasasrabahu mentions that:

> *Sastra Jéndra Yuningrat, pangruwating barang sakalir, ingkang kawruh tan wonten malih, wus kawengku sastradi, pungkas-pungkasing kawruh, ditya diyu raseksa, myang sato sining wanadri, lamun wruh artiné kang sastra jéndra, rinuwat déning Bathara...*
>
> The teachings of *Sastra Jéndra Yuningrat,* is the salvation of any being, no other knowledge is outside this one, everything is included in it. It is the supreme of its kind, demons, titans, ogres, and animals of the forests, if they come to know and understand the Sastra Jéndra, will be delivered by the Supreme God....

It is so conclusive, that it does not need further details. But, there is still this big but, namely whether it is part of the misconception referred to above.

The second question, whether the knowledge (*sastra jéndra*) is applicable to King Sumali, a king of the demon race is already solved, if we can recognise truth in the answer to the first question.

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[11]Mulyono 1987: 3-4a.

The third question: The demon race is only a variety of the human race or in other terms the soul can have demonic or human qualities depending on its inclination and consciousness.

In the Agastyaparwa,[12] mention is made on creation and that there are 16 categories of beings, the highest in rank of which as a matter of course are the deities and the lowest are the monkeys. The demons are still classified higher than the human beings, hence the disdain of Rawaṇa towards Rama and fury on Hanuman.[13] Rawaṇa seems to know this classification system, and therefore feels extremely embittered when everybody including his younger brothers Kumbhakarṇna and Wibiṣaṇa advise him to return Sītā to her husband. A demon king, the menace of even gods, the highest beings in the system, being advised to make peace to a human being, and on top of that, that man has sent him an emissarry in the appearance of a monkey, the lowest possible creature on earth who dares to destroy his pleasure garden.[14]

This classification system is perhaps the basic principle of the karma law, in which is taught that someone will go up in rank or will be reborn into a higher order of species, if he has lived piously, and falls down into a lower class of creatures when he has done the opposite. In general terms this is the view in the religious sects of the classical period,[15] but there seems no total unanimous agreement at the development in later years. The Brahma Kumari Raj Yoga, founded by Dada Lekhraj, whose name was later changed to Prajapita Brahma, in the 1930th, teaches the view that man's soul is not born in any of the other species, say of birds and animals[17].

The idea of the Brahma Kumaris is, that man's soul will fall or rise depending on his awareness of following the degraded urge to sex-lust, anger etc. or his awareness of following the divine line, the *divya maryādā*. A quotation might present a more accurate picture of this view:[18] "Man can be more addicted to sex lust and anger and more wicked than animals; he can be more vicious than a monkey and more violent than a lion as is the case with him now. But man's soul does not transmigrate into bodies of other species, because the souls that are in human bodies are a separate class. Vices can make a man fiendish, whereas when he becomes holy, he will become a deity. But, man's soul cannot

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[12]Gonda, *Agastyaparwa*.
[13]Santoso 1980:1.274-76.
[14]Santoso 1980:3.753.
[15]Gonda 1948:54.
[16]Chander 1981: 19 and 7.
[17]Chander, *One week course*, p.167.
[18]Chander, *One week course*, p.173-74.

just go over to live in a non-human body... So the truth is that, as a result of its impressions, attitudes and bad inclinations, a human soul does not get a body like that of an animal to live in, but it gets an animal's stupidity; it does not get an animal shape, but an animal-like mind. It does not get an animal's body cast, but its thoughts, outlook and actionns can be like an animal's. Its actions and tendencies do not result in change of species in the next existence; it is its luck and its nature that do certainly undergo change. The soul does not leave the human body in its next birth, it acts worse than a monkey would".

Though not explicitly expressed, we can see, that the Brahma Kumaris know about the classification system, and seem still to adhere to it, namely that the first in rank are the deities and the lowest the monkey. The reason I stay for a while here with the Brahma Kumaris is because their view is certainly different from that of other classical darśanas. If we look around, even in Indonesia, there are examples that can confirm this view, i.e. :

In Indonesia[19] and Malaysia, there is a kind of dance called *kuda-lumping* or *jaran képang* in Javanese. The dancer is a man riding a hobby-horse. After the *dukun* (witch-doctor) pronounces a certain mantra on him, he changes his behaviour and attitude and becomes a horse, feeding on rice-grains, horse fodder, pieces of glass (bottles, light-bulbs) and even razor-blades. This dance is common view now everywhere where foreign tourists frequent. After the show, when the awareness of the dancer returns to be human, he does not remember a thing of what he has done, and he certainly refuses to eat horse-fodder at all costs. In Bali this dance is perhaps comparable with the Sang Hyang Jaran dance. Other dances of this kind are, —the Barong dance, the famous kriss dance, in which the dancers' awareness is changed from that of their everyday life.

Summing up the discourse above, we might as well say, that the sixteen grades of beings are in all probability be that of the human being, depending on his behaviour or actions in his life. By inculcating divine qualities and living according to the divine maryādā, man's consciousness will rise and become holy and divine. Looking back on the ingredients of the *sastra jéndra* we can conclude, that it is a kind of spiritual education system, which study, inculcation and practice of its teachings will lead a soul to a supersensuous happy life.

As briefly touched upon earlier, the origin of the *sastra jéndra* should be traced back to Indian or Hindu philosophical systems, such as the *ṣaḍ-darśana*. However the

[19]*Relung Pustaka*, Agustus, 1970 (Sala).

author is of the opinion that we should not look that far back, though we must still be thinking of their further forms of development[20]. Further we must always be aware, that whatever we find in Indonesia of Hindu origin, say, in the last years of the kingdom of Majapahit and onwards, we find it a`lready fragmentised, perhaps due to Javanese Moslems' activities, who in good faith wanted to preserve them, wanted to see some elements islamised or incorporated into the Javanese Moslem tradition. In this condition we cannot find any system preserved wholly in tact to the present day, but only a part here and another there, seemingly without any connection to each other.

Already earlier in the Kresnayana[21], I note to look for its origin in the Purāṇas and, the wayang versions in later developments in the folk theatres of India which take their repertoir from puranic sources. In this case of the *sastra jéndra*, I still advocate to look for its genesis in the Purāṇas, such as the Śiva-Purāṇa etc.[22]

With much surprise I have received from Mr KRT Hardjonagoro of Surakarta[23] a handwritten ms., dated 2-12-1920 A.D., titled *Serat Sastra Harjéndra Yuningrat,*[24] about 22 pages (exercise-book size) long. The writer or copier is called R. Ng. Poerwasastra, which he changes later into R.M.Ng. Yudapraja. As it will be too long to transcribe and translate the Javanese text, I will include for the time being only its summary.

THE BOOK OF INSTRUCTION TO REACH A HAPPY LIFE
(*God Realization*)

The instruction opens with an explanation of the title of the ms., as follows: (p.1) The *Sastra Harjéndra* is derived from the *Pustaka Daryya. Pustaka* means *a book, daryya* means *heart* (*manah*). In consequence the Pustaka Daryya is a book concerning the heart which is the seat of tranquility or silence. If the heart vibrates because of sensation, it brings forth desire, desire causes activity of the mind, which brings about

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[20]See i.e. the development of Vedanta in Sivananda's books: 1. *Bliss Divine*, 2. *Sure Ways for Success etc.*, 3. Gervis, P. *Naked they pray.*

[21]Shastri, *Śiva Purāṇa*, 4 vols.

[22]Santoso 1985:23,60.

[23]Because of other commitments which he cannot leave aside to write a tribute to Dr. Sharada Rani, he gave me this rare and much sought ms. as his tribute to her. So this article is in fact a tribute of both of us.

[24]*Serat Sastra Harjéndra Yuningrat.* The date is shown on the cover page, but the colophon found on p.24 has different date namely 18 January 1922. I think the year might be 1921, so that we surmise that the date on the cover is the date when he started to write, while the date on the colophon is when he finished the job, in about 46 days, which is still too long for such a slight job.

speech, from speech originates voice or sound, which reaches the hearing (of the audience), the hearing will enter the mind which penetrates the heart and finally ends up back in silence.

The meaning of *sastra harjéndra* is as below:

Sastra means writings or something sharps, so it is a writing that has the sharpness of the mind which refers to the knowledge of deliverance, whilst *harja* means safe or safety in eternal life. So it means that whoever has the knowledge and practises it, will be safe in this life and the hereafter as well. Éndra means tall and big mountain, indicating the revelation of the knowledge of deliverence of God Indra, because he is decreed to be the object of worship of eminent people.

(p2) The *Sastra Harjéndra* has been kept secret since the time of the deities, the resis etc. are not allowed to acquire for it, and therefore not many of them has come to know it. In the past if one was detected to be in acquaintance of it and enlightened in it, he would be attacked by the deities with all kinds of peril. If he could not stand them, he would be crushed and smashed into pieces, but if he was able to endure them, he would become an eminent and selected person, to become the master of the threefold world.

(p3) One Tuesday (Anggara-kasih), at midnight, God Jagadnata (Guru), went to the moutain of Jamusdipa[25], accompanied by elders of the gods and his four sons. These were: 1. God Narada, 2. God Sriyana, 3. God Wikmaka, 4. Divine Priest Janaka, 5. Divine Priest Kanwa, 6. God Indra, 7. God Bayu, 8. God Brahma, 9. God Wisnu.

After taking seats, God Guru spoke: "Because we, the deities, are decreed to be the supervisor of the souls, we should naturally know concerning the true facts of the union of God and creation. What do you say ?"

(p4) God Narada replied: "Concerning this question, I heard from my teacher, Nardan Sidiq, the lord of the priest from the land of Marsiduni, as follows: The origin of existence is non-existence. Then there is the Voice, you should be able to trace it back to the owner of it, because He is the seat of no-movement and no-sound (*heneng-hening*). He is transcendental. (p5) When there was nothing yet, first there was the sound, like that of a bell. In fact that sound was the flame of the Word (Sabda). The Word came forth because of pure thought (desire, *Karsa*), pure thought was caused by the vibration of the mind (*karenteg*), the cause of *karenteg* is stability (*teteg*), which came from non-move-

[25]The writer's footnote reads: *Jamus* = dark; *dipa* = light. The present author is of the view, that Jamusdipa originates from the word Jambudwipa.

ment (*heneng*) and non-movem`ent originated from no-sound or clarity (*hening*), which was pure desire (thought). All these take their seat at the threshold of the five senses.

Therefore God is said to have no-shape and figure, but God's shape and figure are seen in the attributes. God has nowhere to stay, but He is everywhere. On the other hand His shape and figure can be comprehended in your shape and figure. The meaning of non-staying is because place and direction is the cover of God, that is (p6) He speaks without a mouth, your mouth is His mouthpiece. He smells without a nose, your nose is His instrument of smell etc."

God Guru expressed his appreciation and asks the others to put forward their view.

God Sriyana spoke: "In my view the true state of God can be understood in brief by four elements. These are: *kantha, warna, ganda* and *rasa. Kantha* means figure/shape, but figuratively, *warna* means *writings*, to be understood as a screen, that is the screen of His true identity. *Ganda* means *taste of smell* that cannot be tasted however. The meaning of *rasa* is *rahsa* (secret meaning) expressed in bad or good speech or the taste of hot, salty etc. As to the case of the origin and destination of the world, this can also be contained in four principles (p.7) which symbolises the relationship between Creator and creation, i.e. smooth and coarse, immaterial and material, light and darkness and all that. These dualisms are in fact only double in form, when they return to their unsubstantiality, there will be no contradiction anymore. That is the metaphor of the relationship between Creator and creation. It is just like the mould and moulding."

God Wikmaka spoke: "To me the truth about God lies in true worship, which is expressed by the application of pure mind. If the mind is pure, for sure every want will be attained. Therefore it is imperative that the mind should be like water in a vessel. If the water is still, not moving, it will become pure, because all impurities have gone below, just like all impurities of the mind will disappear when the mind is still. In this state of mind, you can say 'it is heaven' (p.8) meaning that the soul realises its identity. There is soul-consciousness".

Divine Priest Janaka spoke: "In fact human beings and deities are only an indication of God's presence in this life. Life means movement. So everything that can move is alive, when they cannot move anymore, they are lifeless (dead). Death is in fact life, but in another dimension. It is the life of life."

Divine Priest Kanwa spoke: "In my opinion, the seat of God is in the brilliancy of light, because every living being is marked by it. If the light has gone, than it dies. Death is in fact going into life, but the One who gives life does not change." (p.9).

Hearing all these opinions, God Guru was pleased, because although different, they were of the same kind. So he turned to his four sons and asked for their views. God Brahma (the god of fire) spoke: "All living beings are kept alive by God, whose seat is in *the fire*. The proof is, because every living being is kept alive by the element fire. If there is no fire, the growth of everything will be stunted. Even the motivity of the mind is caused by passion, and passion is the vehicle of fire, or (p.10) in other words fire can bring life to feelings, all beings that have feelings must be processed by fire... "

God Indra spoke: "To me, the existence of God is only discernable in the fastness of the earth. Without soil nothing can live. Even the body originates from earth, furthermore the soil can bring forth taste, i.e. hot, salty, sour etc. (p.11)

God Bayu spoke: "The existence of God can certainly be noticed in the element wind. The proof is that everything is alive because of the wind, those living beings have to breathe to stay alive, and breath is in fact the vehicle of wind. Also the wind regulates the wheather, when it is hot, the wind makes it cool, and heat it up when it is cold, by way of blowing to every direction. So the wind induces the sense of feeling."

God Wisnu spoke: "The seat of life of God is in fact water. The proof of it is, because the easiest thing needed for the existence of the world is water or (p.12) in other words, every living being comes from semen which takes its origin in the pure water (*tirta prawita*), meaning the firt water, that flows to give life. Thus is the instruction I received from my teacher, Usman Aji, the lord of priest from Bani Isra'il. It can be concluded that no living being can stay alive without water. Also the multiplication of living being cannot progress without the presence of liquid, animals and men by means of blood, vegetation by means of sap.

The nature of water is also proof for its permanent existence. Whenever you take water with a dipper from a vessel, there is no trace left behind, and water is a purifying element. This testifies that it is pure and eternal" (p.13). God Guru, on hearing all the views of his four sons was very pleased, as they represented the four elements: fire, earth, wind and water. He dismissed the session and all of them returned to their respective abodes.

Another day God Guru went to the peak of the Jamusdipa mountain again, this time only accompanied by God Indra. He said: "My son, you are called Indranatha now, and you are decreed to be my associate in the supervision of the world-order. For the purpose of co-ordination, I will test you (p.14). I will impart to you some suggestive words and you have to give your interpretation. The first set is called the *pancapur-*

wanda, five principles that must become your nature, namely: 1. the nature of the sun, 2. the nature of the earth, 3. the nature of the wind, 4. the nature of the ocean, and 5. the nature of the sky."

God Indra replied: "Well, my lord ! 1. The nature of the sun is to observe the situation and condition of the world. 2. That of the earth is to sustain everything on it. It is stable and therefore conduces security. 3. The nature of the wind is giving relief to the world, and therefore brings forth the feeling of peace, inducing remembrance to God (p.15). 4. The nature of the ocean is patience, because it always takes everything into it, whether bad or good. This fact produces impartiality and incorruptibility, 5. The nature of the sky is to cover everything, which means to have the power to protect the world. It induces tranquility, abating the power of passion."

God Guru was very pleased with Indra's response, and continued as follows: "My son, there is another set called *catur purwanda,* four principles, which should become your power. Please give your interpretation to: 1 *tetes,* 2 *titis,* 3 *tatas,* 4 *putus.*"

God Indra replied:"Well, my lord ! 1. *Tetes* (hatch) is symbolised by the hatching *(netes)* of an egg, meaning perfectly accomplished, applied to the unity of Creator and creation. It is like the mould and the moulding, perfectly united in mind and matter. 2. *Titis* (right on target) is symbolised by the release of an arrow hitting the target (p.16). It is called to have one body with a deity, which is also perfection itself. 3. *Tatas* (cutting down) is symbolised by the release of an arrow from the bow, cutting down everything on its way, which means all hindrances are solved. It is called a breakthrough directly on target, which means that duality does not exist anymore. 4. *Putus* (accomplishment) is symbolised by the exposition of a commentary, which answers any question. It is called one who has the eyes a deity, meaning knowing all the problems of creation from beginning to end."

God Guru was very happy with the replies of his son. So he continued as follows: "Well, my son. Since you are decreed to be the lord of the threefold world, it is best that you also imbibe the knowledge of your brother Wisnu, because he will become the lord of the world after death, so that you will have a complete knowledge of both the physical and spiritual world-order."

God Indra expressed his agreement, and God Guru called his son Wisnu by spiritual means. In an eyewink God Wisnu arrived and both of them were ordered to have discussions with each other (p.17). God Indra asked God Wisnu to comment on the *panca purwanda* above.

God Wisnu spoke: "To me the *panca purwanda* is similar to the *pancawahya* (the five manifestations). 1. The nature of Surya (the Sun) is similar to that of the eyes, where pursuit is to give light at daytime, at night time the sun sets and there is no light (p.18). Likewise are the eyes, at daytime they are awake and at night asleep. 2. The nature of the earth is similar to that of the flesh, and their pursuit is also similar, the flesh can bring forth nails, hair etc. 3. The nature of the wind is similar to that of breath (respiration). Their pursuits are also similar, that is to witness life on earth, and be present everywhere. 4. The nature of the ocean is similar to that of blood. Their pursuits are also similar, to be everywhere in the world, as blood is found everywhere in the body. 5. The nature of the sky is similar to that of the skin. Their pursuits are also similar, to cover everything.

Furthermore the *catur purwanda* is similar to the *catur kahanan* (the four states). The exposition is as follows:

1. *Tetes* is clarity in the specification of living beings. 2. *Titis* is the state of the mouth. It should be fluent in speaking and always exact in whatever is spoken (p.19). 3. *Tatas* is the state of the ear or hearing. Whatever is perceived by the ear should be clear and discernable. 4. *Putus* is the state of the eyes or sight, because it observes life, so that it can detect bad from good etc.

My brother ! There is still another set of teachings, consisting of four elements, they are: 1. *wingit* 2. *singit* 3. *sirung* 4. *jetmika*. Please, give your explanation!"

God Indra replied: "I think: 1. *wingit* means *vague*, very difficult to guess. 2. *Singit* is *hidden,* because it is esoteric and cannot be easily reached by the mind. 3. *Sirung* is *jeopardy*. The activities of passion are always causing trouble. 4. *Jetmika* is stability. It brings forth a feeling of peace. Well my brother, what do you think" (p.20).

God Wisnu spoke : "All your explanations are correct, because your opinion is seen from the physical angle. However, what is your opinion from the spiritual angle?"

God Indra was incapable of finding a suitable reply and asked God Wisnu to explain to him.

God Wisnu spoke: "The explanation is as follows: 1. *Wingit* is the nature of *guwaya* (lustre), the cover of light. 2. *Singit* is the expression of passion. Passion is the cover of fire. 3. *Sirung* is the manifestation of form, which is the cover of idea. 4. *Jetmika* is silence, which is the cover for name.

There is another set of teachings consisting of four elements, these are: 1. *liyep,* 2. *layap*, 3. *luyut* and 4. *lengit*, which can be explained as follows:

1. *liyep* is the perfection of blood, which turns into light.
2. *layap* is the perfection of flesh, which turns into light.

3. *luyut* is the perfection of bone, which turns into light.

4. *lengit* is the perfection of skin, which turns into light.

So there are four kinds of light: 1. the skin becomes black light. 2. blood becomes red light. 3. flesh becomes yellow light. 4. Bone becomes white light. After they blend with each other they become *cahya mancur* (shining light), then turn into *cahya mancorong* (brilliant light), then change into *cahya bening* (clear light), which pass silently into *cahya gemilang* (transparent light), which cast no shadows. Then suddenly there appear fiery beams criss-crossing in the sky like fighting lightning. All the lights disappear suddenly, blending together into a halo. Thus in this form we come to the meeting place of Creator and creation, merging into each other and return to the state of perfect purity."

God Indra was very happy with the instruction of his younger brother, but continued to ask for more, as follows: Well my brother ! You are already a kind of spirit. Why are you still concerned with matter formation? Can you tell me the reason?"

God Wisnu spoke: "Yes, my brother, certainly I can. The reason is, because matter originates from spiritual elements. The elements are the first earth, then the fire, followed by the wind and finally the water. It is called starting from matter passing into spiritual, because earth brings out the body (flesh), the fire brings out passion, the wind brings out breath, and the water brings out the mind (p.22). However, if you look at it from the spiritual side, then it starts with water which brings forth the mind. The mind is the soul of every living being. Then the mind vibrates. The vibration brings the forth passion (desire), the passion brings forth the breath, and the breath brings forth the body (flesh). Therefore if you are going to die, first the body will decrease, followed by the decrease of breath, then the blood decreases, followed by the abatement of passion. That is in brief, the way to salvation."

When the two deities finished their discussion, God Guru appeared in their presence. After receiving their report that the discussion was over satisfactorily, God Guru spoke: "Now both of you will receive new names, as both of you will become the other components of the triad (*trimurti*). Indra will have the name of Susadya Jati (the true seeker), Wisnu will have the name of Narayana (the true screen) and finally I will take the name of Si Sida Jati (the true Perfection or Perfect Truth)."

Then they departed to their respective abodes.

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STUDIES CONCERNING INDIAN SHADOW-THEATER AND INDIAN-MARIONETTE THEATER

WITH SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF GERMAN SCHOLARS

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THE SHADOW-PLAY

With regard to the existence of an Indian form of shadow play, nothing was known to European scholars until the second quarter of this century in spite of the fact that the Venetian Pietro della Valle (1667:256) had observed transparent shadow figures in 1627 when he was visiting the old Ikkeri in Karnataka during the festivals of the New Moon. However he did not realize their real meaning. It was in 1935 when the German professor O. Spies had become the first European witness of a live performance of shadow play in Aligarh (Bangalore District, Karnataka); the existence of which had been a theme long discussed. He mentioned that he had seen a set of 56 transparent figures including the figure of *Chilekata* (this is a clown or trickster) with a large phallus. At the beginning of this century G. Jacob, an expert on shadow theater, called attention to this 'sensational' fact in a small publication (1935:387-390). Still shorter was an article written by Spies himself (1938: 1-3) giving some interesting details about the shadow play and mentioning that he had bought two used figures, which were later donated to the *Ledermuseum* (German Leather Museum) in Offenbach (Germany). Sometime later this museum succeeded in acquiring eleven new pieces. At the same time the India Museum (South Kensington) obtained possession of some Indian shadow figures.

With the 'discovery' of a still practised shadow play in India, a long and high-spirited discussion among German and other European scholars, especially Indologists, took place concerning the popular form of the Indian shadow play. While Winternitz (1920, 1923), Laufer (1917) and the English scholar Keith (1924) questioned the existence of an Indian shadow play at all, Lüders (1904), Pischel (1906) and Jacob (1901, 1931) believed that it had existed as a classical form. The foundation for this meaning were certain pure Sanskrit-texts, known as *chāyānāṭaka's*, which means literally 'shadow-drama'. We know of at least nine of these plays (Jacob 1931:1-9). In any case three of them are considered by Jacob as shadow plays. The most famous among them are:

Subhaṭa's *Dhūtāṅgada* (13th cent.) and *Mahā-Nāṭaka* (before 850 A.D.). With regard to their form there is nearly no difference to other kinds of Indian drama. Therefore certain scholars had to collect many arguments to prove the existence of such a separate branch of the Indian drama. So the chāyānāṭaka's were considered by the French scholar S. Lévi (1890:241) as a sort of drama 'in the state of a shadow' ('drame à l'état d'ombre') in consequence of the meaning of this word. Pischel (1906:495) used a similar translation and called them 'an adumbration' resp. 'an imperfect representation' before he changed his mind and favored the translation 'shadow play'. So did Jacob.

However H. Lüders presented still another argument to prove the existence of an Indian (popular) shadow play. He refered to the Śaubhika's, a class of artists mentioned in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya (1916:731 ff, 1940:407 ff). Based on the meaning of the word *pratyakṣam*, he regarded the Śaubhika's as shadow players, especially in Somadeva's *Nītivākyāmṛta* 55.5-6 in which a Śaubhika is mentioned as a performer of figures (persons) on a screen of cloth at night (*śaubhikaḥ kṣapāyāṁ kāṇḍapaṭāvaraṇena nānāvidhanāmarūpadarśī*). A. Hillebrandt (1918:227 ff) gives a long interpretation of the word 'śaubhika' which — in consequence of his opinion — does not mean shadow player, but 'sthāpaka' resp. 'sūtradhāra'. This argumentation is taken up by M. Winternitz (1920:118 ff.), who regards the Śaubhika's as story-tellers. Much later V. Stache-Rosen (1976:277) proves that the Śaubhika's (Śobhika's) are in fact shadow players and she refers to several texts as for instance, Mahāvastu 3.113, Jātaka VI.227. Then she gives the translation of a sentence in the Śikṣāmuccaya 1961:76: ...' *they are poets and kings of poets, fighters and wrestlers, entertainers, shadow players, cleaners (?), dancers, magicians showing these various shapes..'.*

Although the conceptions of Pischel, Jacob and Lüders were accepted by many scholars, the discussion continued. So Sri V. Ramasubramaniam, a Tamilian Sanskrit scholar from Madras points out (1962: 71, 1970:119): "*You know that in Sanskrit drama the various Prakrits employed were not always intelligible to the reader. There were, therefore, footnotes giving their exact rendering in Standard Sanskrit. This Sanskrit rendering of Prakrit and other vernacular passages were technically called cchāyās. Now, when whole plays, intended for performance in vernaculars, were written down in Sanskrit, omitting dialects altogether, these Sanskrit versions too began to be called "cchāyā-nāṭakas"*. This explanation is a new argument in the discussion.

On the other hand the German scholar P. Thieme pleads for the existence of an Indian shadow play as one of the precursors of the classical drama together with the ritual dance and the popular play of the mimes (1966:25 ff.). He supposes furthermore that the

term *sthāpaka* or *prastāvana*, mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra refers only to the introduction of a shadow play (1966:39, 40). The second term for the introduction of the other forms of the drama is *pūrvaraṅga*. Critical research on the Indian theater in general, under consideration of the shadow and marionette play, has been completed by W. Ridgeway (1915) and L. Renou (1963 and 1966). The latter in his introduction to the reprint of Lévi's 'Le Théatre Indien', which also was published in an English version in 1966.

Besides the question discussed above, two other questions have to be answered: 1. The age of the Indian shadow play and 2. Its origin. It was Pischel, who did his best to prove that shadow play in India has a very old tradition, and that it was called *rūpyarūpaka* (Pali *rupparūpaka*, 1906:488). Jacob (1931:4) is in doubt about this definition, and other scholars consider the word as a 'kind of juggler's art'. Furthermore Pischel quotes a verse of the Mahābhārata (Bombay ed. 1863: 12.265.5):

raṅgāvataraṇaṃ caiva rūpopajīvanam /
madyamāṃsopajīvanaṁ ca vikrayaṁ lohacarmaṇoh //

And he also quotes the comment of Nīlakaṇṭha (17th cent.) who gives the definition of *rūpopajīvanam* in the context of the screen and leather figures of a shadow play. He explains it as the art of shadow play, and says that the Southerners are calling it *jalamaṇḍapika*. Pischel adds that this word is not traceable in any Southern Arian or any Dravidian language. Here he is mistaken. In Kannada you will find the words *jala* and *maṇḍapike*; they mean 'to shine, to glitter and a little pavilion'; If you read *manda* then you will find 'a wall', 'a paper' or 'transparent to some extent' and *pikka* means 'faint, pale' (Kittel 1968-71:678b, 1266a, 1281b, 1037b). All these meanings deal with items belonging to the paraphernalia of the shadow play. In any case there is a certain plausibility that shadow play in India was known already when the 12th book of the Mahābhārata had been written.

Another argument for the existence of an old Indian shadow play was the discovery of the Sitabenga-cave (Ramghar-Hill/Sarguja/Chota Nagpur/Bihar) by the German scholar Th. Bloch (1904:455 ff). The construction of a small theater was also found in this cave and Pischel (1906:484, 485) presumed that the cave was also used for performances of marionettes and shadow figures.

Once again, in 1920 (123, 124, 142), Winternitz discussed the question of the old age of Indian shadow play and also of its classical Sanskrit form in verses. He argued that shadow play is only traceable back to the 13th century A.D., and that the *chāyānāṭaka's* could not be considered as convincing documents confirming the existence of an ancient Indian shadow play.

Ten years later A. Coomaraswamy (1930:627) referred to a verse of the Cūḷavaṁsa (66, 133; Geiger 1905, 1912) which mentions Tamilian shadow players and shadow figures (*cammarūpa*). V. Stache-Rosen adds another piece of evidence from the Ceylonese chronicle Cūḷavaṁsa (66.133; 12th century A.D.) mentioning the king Gajabahu II (1137-1153), who employed Tamilians and other people who knew how to dance and sing and who performed with leather puppets and acted other plays. By this hint we now know about the existence of shadow play in Sri Lanka and South India. The verse deals with the Prince Parakkamabāhu (1164-97 A.D. the time of his later government; vide Geiger 1930:206) and his creation of a spying system using Tamilian shadow players as spies. This fact seems to be very important as even during the last century shadow players worked as spies as I discovered in Savantvaḍi (South Maharastra; Seltmann 1979:457). But there is another important detail of this verse to be considered, namely the use of the word *rūpa* in the context of shadow play. This fact supports Pischel's version of the old age of Indian shadow play.

After O. Spies had given his report over a shadow play performance (vide above) H. Meinhard, a German scholar, published an article 'The Javanese Wayang and its Indian Prototype' (1939:109-111). Without having done any field-work he had worked out all the details about Indian shadow play he could find in the publications of R.E. Enthoven (1920/1922/1924), of Nanjundayya and L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer (1928/1930/1935) and the Bombay, Dharwar, and Bijapur Gazetteers. In spite of certain misunderstandings and its intelligible incompleteness it opened the wide field of problems and questions concerned with the Indian shadow play and the fact that a systematic research would be necessary to fill the gaps. However World War II stopped nearly all activities in this field. Only one article — so far known to me, has been published during this time: 'The Shadow Play in Malabar' by K.B. Iyer (1943:1-12, reprint in Mārg 1968:22-26). This paper dealt with another form of Indian shadow play than the one O. Spies had observed. M. D. Raghavan (1947:37-42) treated the same theme in his publication *Pāvakūthu* (the play of shadow figures, so called in Malayalam). Already in 1935 Mrs. Stan Harding (234, 235) had described a performance of the Kerala shadow play in her article *'The Ramayana Shadow Play in India'*. This title was a bit pretentious but the author knew nothing about the different forms of shadow play in South Tamil Nadu, in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh or even in Orissa, which are also presenting the Rāmāyāṇa story.

Already in 1962 I began with the preparations for research of the Indian shadow play, and in 1964 I tried to trace it in South India. But the information was fragmentary.

No one in Delhi could supply me with facts and only a few educated people in Madras and Mysore had a faint idea about it, even the sanskritists among the priests were not well informed. But soon I understood that shadow play did not belong to the acknowledged and canonized arts. It seemed to be 'only' rural art good enough to amuse the poor people up country. In those times shadow play was not 'in', and one was even ashamed to know something about its existence. That it presented a very old, differentiated and complicated art with many religious aspects and particular traditions and was only known to a few people besides the fact that it embodied a real branch of Indian culture.

Nevertheless in 1964 I contacted shadow players in the villages of Karnataka and Kerala after I had travelled hundreds and hundreds of miles. The most important result was the evidence of the existence of two different types and kinds of shadow play. I discovered the translucent and colored type of figures made from parchment as you find in Andhra Pradesh, in Karnataka, in South Tamil Nadu and in South Maharashtra, and I found in Kerala and Orissa the type made from thick parchment or skin, colored scarcely or without any color at all, but with many perforations. The latter let the light through so that you can see the outlines, the jewelry and the pattern of the costumes etc. The discovery of these two types with completely different iconography and — as I found out later — very distinct traditions and kinds of manipulation made the old problems still more complex; the age of the two types of shadow play and their origin. Now you have to trace two different clues. Which kind of shadow play has been performed for instance at the time of the Prince Parakkamabāhu in the 12th century?

About 1968 a new development concerning the shadow play had already started. The first figures appeared in the market both in Delhi and in Madras. The dealers saw the chance for a new business dealing with the buying and selling of the figures, which is still flourishing today. One of the reasons which led to this trend was the purchase of figures by a number of museums during those years, for example, the National Museum, the Crafts Museum, the Theater Museum and the Museum of the Sangeet Natak Akademi all in New Delhi, the Raja Kelkar Museum in Pune and also the Madras Government Museum which completed its small stock in the years 1957 till 1969 especially with the help of the late Kodur Ramamurti, Director of the Indigenous School of Arts and Crafts in Madras. Later also the Folklore Museum in Mysore built up a good collection of shadow figures and the Government Museum in Bangalore followed. But also European and American Museums started to collect Indian shadow figures, e.g. the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden (The Netherlands); the Puppentheatermuseum in Munich, the Museums für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, Stuttgart and Berlin (Germany); the Museum

Kwok On in Paris (France); the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel (Switzerland); the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (Austria) and the UCLA Museum of Cultural History in Los Angeles (U.S.A.).

Another reason for the trend mentioned above was the first survey of Indian puppetry in general published in a special number of 'Marg' (1968:XXI). With respect to the shadow play the different chapters based on older publications for example, 'Shadow Play in Malabar' by K.B.Iyer (vide above) and an article about 'Leather Puppet Dolls' by A. Chandra Sekhar, already written in 1961 for the Census of India — Andhra Pradesh, Section 'Selected Crafts'. But this sort of regional publication could only reach a small number of persons, and it usually takes a long time before it will be known to all interested circles. A call to the publicity for the saving and the revival of the shadow play was the publication of Sharada Devi (1969) in the 'Illustrated Weekly of India'. The result of my own field-work in 1964 and 1968 were two articles published in the periodical 'Bijdragen' of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden (The Netherlands) dealing with the '*Shadow Play in Mysore and Andhra Pradesh*' (Seltmann, 1971) and with the '*Shadow Play in Kerala*' (Seltmann, 1972). I have tried to get in contact with different teams of shadow players to observe their techniques of presentation and performing, to become acquainted with the different types of figures and the manner of their production, to learn their social status and religious costumes, and last but not least, to study the rites concerned with the shadow play and its performance. Soon I had found out that such a research had continental dimensions and could not be done within two or three months, especially when all the work had to be finished by one man only, viz. the interviews, the observing of performances, the activities with the tape-recorder and the cameras as well as the checking of the first results, the checking of interviews and the collecting of background information. The regions which were to be visited with the aim of contacting shadow players extends very far: from Orissa southward to the Ramnad District of Madras in the East, from Hyderabad to South Karnataka in the center, and the Eastern parts of Karnataka up to Savantvadi in South Maharashtra as well as the Palghat District in Kerala. Two other difficulties also have to be considered before one starts a research project: the different times of the monsoon periods and the fact that many teams of shadow players are migrating during the dry season travelling from village to village to give performances. When the rains are too heavy you often are not able to reach the villages and homes of the shadow players. Because of this migration, the players are very hard to trace. Of course it would be possible to contact and visit the players in one of the larger cities as Hyderabad, Vishakhapatnam, Bangalore, Mysore,

Cochin etc. However in this case you are missing their surroundings, and also in many cases the oldest male members of the families who usually can give the most valuable information are not present. Also you would miss the chance to see the whole set of their figures including the most damaged ones which are often the oldest and most important for the knowledge of the original iconography. Therefore I always preferred to contact the players in their native places where you have the chance to obtain valuable information from the local authorities and other persons. This has been the motive to spend many months up country during the years 1976-1978 and to follow an invitation of the Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, to attend the National Festival of Shadow Theater in Bangalore, November 1978. This well-organized meeting presented the opportunity for new contacts with shadow players, for discussing pending questions and for checking certain results of former interviews. By all these activities I succeeded in obtaining a lot of material for more and more elaborate publications.

My special interest has always been to find out the religious aspects connected with the shadow play and the play with marionettes. These are represented in the texts of the different kinds of drama shown by the players, in the rites in direct connection with the performance and in certain customs with regard to the puppets beginning with the production of them, continued with their veneration by the players during the year and ending with their funeral in a tank or a river after becoming totally broken. One of the most important sources to study this religious background is the shadow play scene in Kerala. There you will get the extraordinary chance to watch a performance not only one night but a series of performances in continuation for three nights, for a week, for a fortnight or even for 28 nights following the well-known plot of the Rāmāyaṇa which will be presented there in a local version of the Kamban edition. One of the most striking facts is the existence of a permanent building only used for performances of shadow theater. This stage, the so-called '*kūttu-māḍam*' belongs to the temple compound but is situated outside the temple walls opposite the temple shrines of the goddesses *Śrī Bhadrakālī* and *Śrī Bhagavatī*. The shadow play is linked with the cult of these two goddesses, who will be spectators of the whole Rāmāyaṇa resp. of the most important scenes of it repeated by the performance of the shadow players. This is the time of the most spectacular temple festivals. All the performances at night are accompanied by a lot of rites and *pūjās* as well as other sacred actions within the temple precincts which are very complicated and many-sided. It is the main performer always as well as in Kerala as in other parts of South India, the *guru*, the *bhāgavata* etc., who has in fact the function of a folk-priest. I treated this aspect in a separate article, which also is considering the correspondent persons in South-East Asia (Seltmann 1979).

Not so distinct, but interesting in the same way, are the religious customs handled by the teams of shadow players in Orissa, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh especially the invocations and dismissal of deities on the occasion of a shadow play performance. They show differences which possibly may throw light on the homogeneousness of certain groups and clans even as on their proper origin. This again could perhaps also disclose certain iconographical aspects of the shadow figures especially in connection with the Paithan painting. The late German scholar Valentina Stache-Rosen (1976) and the American Prof. Mel Helstien have started research on the subject of the iconography of shadow figures from Karnataka, and Dr. Anna L. Dallapiccola (1980, University of Heidelberg) has published a valuable book about Paithan painting as a study of its development and iconography. By following this line of research it might be possible to trace the descent of the transparent Indian shadow figures.

During the time of the rediscovery of shadow theater in India, Indian scholars were also taking up this subject, and a number of smaller publications appeared. Among them the Bharatiya Natya Sangh edited a book (1960) dealing with the 'Puppet Theater Around the World'. You will find in it several articles also concerned with South Indian puppetry, shadow and marionette theater written by Dr. Suresh Awasthi, Balwant Gargy, G. C. Tej, E. Krishna Iyer and Ramana Murty. Later publications are: Suresh Awasthi (1975) and Jiwan Pani (1979) about the 'Ravana Chhaya' (shadow play) of Orissa, a very valuable monograph.

The Danish scholar N. R. Sorensen published in 1974 a very instructive article about the 'Shadow Theater in Andhra Pradesh'. One of the most informative books on puppetry in general is the exhibition catalogue 'Asian Puppets' (1976) which dedicates a large part to Indian puppetry. The excellent photographs present many figures (shadow play and marionettes) coming from the collection of Mel and Antoinette Helstien who also contributed the corresponding texts, so far as I am informed. In 1977 Channabasappa (88b-91b) wrote a chapter about the shadow play in Karnataka and so did Tapasvi Kumar in 1975 (196-218) — (Publications only based on pictures and on aesthetic and general remarks are not considered in this survey).

Until the year 1984 I have continued my field-work in South India. Two detailed monographs are the result of these studies (Seltmann 1985, 1986) and a third will follow. Three special and interesting papers concerning the shadow play of Karnataka have been written by the late professor Mel Helstien (1979, 1980, 1986).

We have already seen now several aspects of Indian shadow-play which have been considered by the research work during the last 25 years, for example: the general

features, the rites, the techniques of presentation, the fabrication of figures and their iconography. Also we know the themes of the performances, which are taken from the famous Indian epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and from parts of the Purāṇa's as well as versions of local historical accidents. But one aspect still has been neglected, viz. the tracing back of the original editions of these epics and Purāṇa's. Because these texts have only been kept by oral tradition in most cases for centuries among the shadow players, their original character has changed and has been covered by many personal versions and additions of the performers not to mention all the omissions. A few families of shadow players still have certain notations, especially in Kerala where the texts are written on palm leaves. Today it should be one of the most important tasks to save all those written notes and to write down all the texts still in the mind of the different performers. Otherwise it would be impossible to find out the connections between the classical texts and their rural resp. local versions. The number of shadow players is reducing in an alarming way, and the paper or palm leaf with the texts will fall to pieces before someone has transcribed them.

Another point for consideration is the systematical collecting of good photographs presenting the old classical figures of the different districts assuming that they are still in possession of the shadow players before they are either sold or worn out. Nowadays there is a tendency to create new figures in the style of sweet cinema heroes whereby the beautiful former colors will be substituted by 'modern' coloration.

THE MARIONETTES

Concerning the play with marionettes you will find in South India similar circumstances as in the shadow play with regard to the texts of the dramas, to the change of traditional forms of presenting to more modern practices and to the style of the marionettes. Originally the wood-carvers were highly skilled craftsmen, and the faces of real old marionettes could be true works of art, but since decades no puppets of this kind have been produced. The classical form of a marionette presented an unity of expressive features, perfect costumes suitable to the social rank of the type including all the accessories as for example jewelry. In particular it was the decent and expressive coloring of the faces which made the marionettes so charming and fascinating. Nowadays thick coats of oil-colors cause a dull and plump expression of the faces even if the wood-carving itself should still show a certain craftsmanship. If the heads are not made from wood but rather from papier-mâché, it would be much more difficult to model fine features. This deterioration is due to the lack of orders for performances. There are teams which have

not played anymore since years, and if there is no money there is no art. The economical situation for the marionette players is still worse than for the shadow players. There are only some centers where this art still shows a fairly high level not only with regard to the performances but also to the fashion of the marionettes, for instance, in Uppinakuda (South Kanara/Karnataka). Until the middle of this century this has been the last place where the last puppeteer, Shri Padmanabhan Kamath, as representative of an old tradition practiced this art with his famous Yakṣagāna puppets. South Kanara has been famous for its marionettes until March 1928 when a terrible fire destroyed all the puppets at a meeting of the regional puppeteers.

The themes for the marionette performances are chosen from the great Indian epics, from the Purāṇa's, from local versions of mythological events (for example, Gaṅge Gaurī Kathā and Mārkaṇḍeya), and from the legend joined with the figures of Hariś-candra and Kharibant (Kharibanta Kāḷaga), to mention only a few examples of a large program. This stock of plays varies from region to region, and it is a difference if one watches marionette play in North Karnaṭaka, in South Karnaṭaka, in Andhra Pradesh, in Tamil Nadu or even in Orissa (the marionette-forms of North India and Bengal are not considered in this article).

You will find in South India three sorts of marionettes: string puppets, rod puppets and glove puppets. To distinguish their different styles, also the techniques how they are moved can indicate that they belong to a certain group with peculiar features.

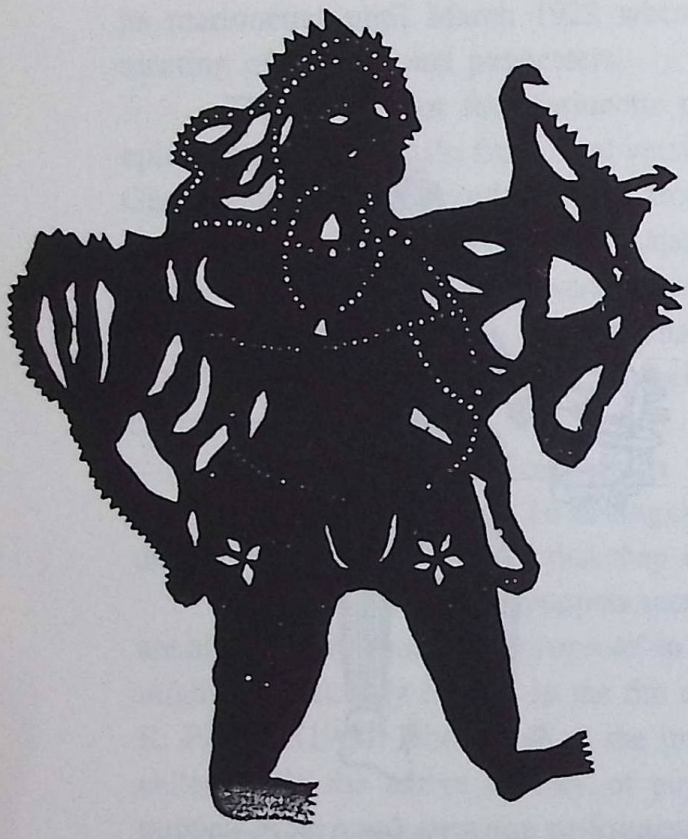
The play with string puppets seems to be very old in India. The marionette players are already mentioned as '*sūtraprota*' in the Mahābhārata; this will say that they probably might have already existed in the 5th century B.C. Again it was the German scholar R. Pischel (1900) who hinted at the importance of the play with marionettes, and who called India the native country of puppetry. He also tried to prove that mechanical puppets were used even for performance in India since centuries (ib.:7-9).

W. Ridgeway (1915:159 ff.) contested the theory of Pischel arguing that the indication in the Mahābhārata could be later interpolations and that the puppets mentioned in the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva (about 1076 A.D.; 29.18 ff.), in the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara (about 900 A.D.; 118 ff.) etc. have been only mechanical toys. But Ridgeway did not know in those days that even with joint puppets scenes of daily life with spoken texts were performed (Seltmann 1978: 44 ff.). And one can be sure that in former times the dialogues and the dramatical effect of these shows with mechanical puppets have been much distinct.

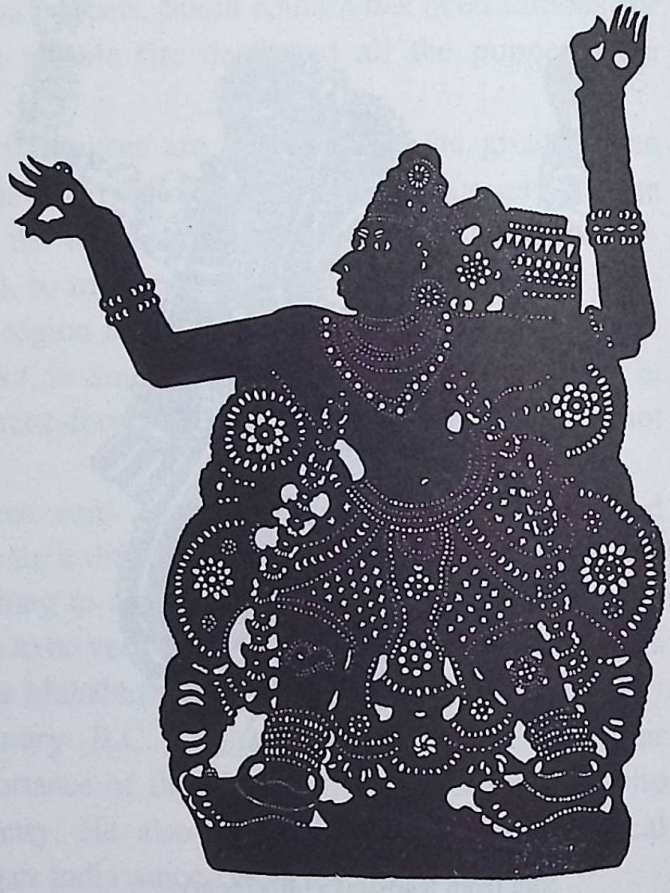
Different types of Indian Shadow-play figures

Sītā from Karnataka (40×26cm)

Śatrughna from Andhra Pradesh (118×83cm)



Lakṣmaṇa from Orissa (52.5×45cm)



Rāma-yuddha from Kerala (72×50cm)

Photographs by F. Seltmann

Publications concerning the art of marionettery in South India are not numerous compared with those ones dealing with the Kathaputli-play (string puppets, wooden dolls) in Rajasthan. M. Contractor deals with it in her different essays titled 'Various Types of Traditional Puppets' (1968:5-16). Already in 1966 Sharada Devi had published a short survey about 'Marionettes of Karnatak'. Most of the other Indian publications on marionettery are based on these articles with some exceptions. There is for instance the systematical contribution on Yakṣagāna Puppets by K. S. Upadhyaya and K. Sanjiva Prabhu (1976) and the chapter about string puppets by Channabasappa (1977:174b-179a). In 1976 Das Gupta examined the collection of South-Indian marionettes of the Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde in a very systematical way so far it was possible without having any experience in field-work. As a result of a part of my own field-work, I was able to publish an article concerning marionettery in South Karnataka (1978), and two other articles dealing with the glove puppet plays in Kerala and Orissa (Seltmann 1976, 1979). Presently I am preparing other articles on the subject of South Indian marionettery. All the different publications are only a start to elucidate this neglected field of art and drama, and a great deal of work still has to be done before we will obtain a somewhat complete survey of South Indian marionettery.

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CAṆḌI MENDUT AND THE MAHĀVAIROCANA-SŪTRA

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The dharma of mighty Śailendras, who ruled Java from the first half of the 7th cent. to the 9th cent., found expression in magnificient architectural complexes in Indonesia. Among the many existing monuments, Caṇḍi Mĕndut occupies a place of honour. Its identification has remained an enigma. The configuration of its statues, empty niches and reliefs on the exterior walls holds a key to its identification by comparison with the Sino-Japanese graphic maṇḍala of the Garbhadhātu. An analysis of the disparate elements that go to make up the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan tends to support the cosmographic identification of the entire Candi Mendut-Pawon-Borobudur complex.

Date. Caṇḍi Mĕndut was built by the tenth Śailendra king Indra (782-812). The Inscription of Karaṅgtĕṅah (Casparis 1950:39) dated 824 names it as *veṇuvanābhikhyam... jinamandiram* in line 21. According to Casparis (1950:204) it is one complex with Pawon and Borobudur and chronologically it is the oldest of the three. As it will become clear later on, Mĕndut is a Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala which leads to Borobudur the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, with intermediary Pawon as a homa temple.

Name. The name Caṇḍi Mĕndut has a special significance. We do not know when it came into vogue. The key word *mendut/mendul* in Javanese means 'to expand' (opzwellen, JN: 271). It corresponds to Vaipulya. Vaipulya-vādins or Vaitulya-vādins are found in southern Srilanka as early as the 3rd cent. with Abhayagiri-vihāra as their centre. In the stone inscription of Kĕlurak from Java, 704 Śaka, occurs an important epithet *vaipulya-vipra-tilakena* (Sarkar 1971:1.43). It confirms the presence and predominance of vaipulya adherents in the reign of Śailendras as early as the 8th cent. The basic text of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala is Mahāvairocana-sūtra which is a vaipulya-sūtrendra-rāja. It is evident from its full Sanskrit title transliterated in the Tibetan version: Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendra-rāja.

The earliest representation of Rocana originated in the Avataṁsaka which later on evolved into the Vairocana of caryā and yoga tantras. The Ten Stages of the timely progress of the human mind in Japanese Mantrayāna as propounded by Kobo Daishi (9th cent.) place Avataṁsaka just before Mantrayāna (Takakusu 1956:149). While

Avataṁsaka is a mahāvaipulya-sūtra, the Mahāvairocana-sūtra is a vaipulya-sūtrendra-rāja. Sūtrendra-rāja indicates a further and higher stage of development.

Mahāvairocana-sūtra was translated into Chinese by Śubhākarasiṁha and I-hsing in A.D. 724-725. The explanations offered by Śubhākarasiṁha during the translation were noted down by I-hsing who wrote his own commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra wherein he also transliterated some Sanskrit verses of the sūtra in Chinese characters (Jong 1974:478). The Chinese tradition is that the Sanskrit manuscript translated by Śubhākara and commented upon by I-hsing was the one obtained by Wu-hsing. It is highly significant that sometime between 650-680 Wu-hsing was in Śrīvijaya. In A.D.685 I-tsing met Wu-hsing at Nalanda. I-tsing himself was in Śrīvijaya in 672 and again from 685 to 695 where he translated many texts. Thus during the late seventh century, Indonesia was an important centre of Vajrayāna. The Mahāvairocana-sūtra was translated into Tibetan much later in the beginning of 9th cent. (Tajima 1959:36, Jong 1974:481)

The twin maṇḍala in SHK. The Old Javanese text Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan (SHK) is the most important Vajrayāna text of Indonesia. It probably goes back to the 10th century. It has three clearly distinguishable parts:

SHK		JAPAN	
1. Mahāvairocana-sūtra (verses 1-9,16-18, 20-22)	caryā-tantra	Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala	tattva-dharma-kāya
2. Nayasūtra or Adhyardha-śatikā-prajñāpāramitā (verses 26-42)	yoga-tantra	Occurs as naya-maṇḍala in Vajradhātu-maṇḍala	—
3. The Five Tathāgatas and their jñānas besides Vajradhātvīśvarī are clearly from the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṁgraha	yoga-tantra	Vajradhātu-maṇḍala	jñāna-dharmakāya

The classification of SHK becomes clear and meaningful when we have the following points in mind.

1. Buddhist tantras are divided into four groups: kriyā, caryā, yoga and anuttarayoga. The writer of SHK knew these groups as he mentions *kriyātantr-ādi* (p.33

1.8) which shows that various types of Tantras were prevalent in Indonesia. Mahāvairocana-sūtra is the basic text of caryā-tantra. The Naya-sūtra and Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṁgraha belong to the yoga-tantras. There are four kinds of abhiṣekas in anuttarayoga:kalaśābhiṣeka, guhyābhiṣeka, prajñāpāramitābhiṣeka and caturthābhiṣeka (Advayavajra-saṁgraha 1927:36-39). Kalaśābhiṣeka is subdivided into six abhiṣekas of water, crown, vajra, bell, name and ācārya. Ācāryābhiṣeka has eight parts. The eighth part on āśvāsa in described in SHK.

2. The first 22 verses of the SHK are from the second chapter of Mahāvairocana-sūtra entitled 'the treasury of the mantras which are to be placed in the maṇḍala' in its Tibetan translation (Tajima 1959:111-115).

Verses 26-42 of the SHK are from Adhyardha-śatikā-prajñāpāramitā popularly known as Naya-sūtra in Japan. The text ends with verse 42 and the colophon terms it Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya. The word naya in Mantra-naya refers to the Naya-sūtra. "This is Prajñāpāramitā in one hundred and fifty ślokas, depicting the truth of Prajñāpāramitā or perfect wisdom spoken by Vairocana Buddha for the benefit of Vajrasattva. ...In the Shingon sect, this sūtra is chanted every morning and evening and is respected as a sūtra setting forth the deep insight of Vajrasattva" (*Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary* 1965:235). The popularity of the Naya-sūtra to our day in Japan points to its vogue in ancient times and fragments in the SHK are a reminder of its prevalence in Classical Indonesia.

3. In the third part of SHK (pp.31-70) the names of the Five Tathāgatas are contradistinctively of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The consort of Vairocana is *Vajradhātvīśvarī devī mahāprajñā rūpavatī* (p.45). This ensures that the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala is being dealt with.

The names of Five Tathāgatas vary in different sūtras. The names of Five Tathāgatas help us to define the tradition of the SHK.

1. Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra (4th-5th cent.)	Tathāgata	Akṣobhya	Ratnaketu	Amitāyus	Dundubhisvara
2. Amoghapāśa-sūtra (7-8th cent.)					
9th chapter	Sākyamuni	Akṣobhya	Ratna-sambhava	Amitāyus	Lokanātha
22nd chapter	Vairocana	Akṣobhya	Ratna-sambhava	Lokeśvararāja	Amoghasiddhi
3. Garbhadhātu maṇḍala	Mahā-vairocana	Ratnaketu	Saṁkusu-mitarāja	Amitābha	Divyadundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa
4.Vajradhātu-maṇḍala	Mahā-vairocana	Ratna-sambhava	Akṣobhya	Amitāyus	Amoghasiddhi

From the above table it is clear that the Five Tathāgatas of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala have contradistinctive names. These names are the ones that are found in SHK (p.60). The Five Tathāgatas in the SHK are Vairocana, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, Akṣobhya and Amoghasiddhi. Thus it is beyond doubt that the SHK herein refers to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

4. *Advaya*. In the Japanese tradition Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas are Twin Maṇḍalas. Tajima (1959:47-52) explains the essential principles of the Twin Maṇḍalas. Vairocana is dharmakāya: in Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala he is *tattva*-dharmakāya and in Vajradhātu-maṇḍala he is *jñāna*-dharmakāya. They are two and yet they are not two. The concept of advaya is clear in the Sino-Japanese tradition. SHK explains advaya in detail. The SHK p.45, 51 speaks of saṅ hyaṅ advaya and saṅ hyaṅ advayajñāna. Advaya means aṁ aḥ. Bāyu enters the body. Sādhaka becames sūryarūpa. Bāyu leaves the body. Sādhaka is candrarūpa and śānta. Saṅ hyaṅ advayajñāna is Buddhānusmaraṇa. Vajra-jñāna is advaya-jñāna (p.52). The advaya of SHK pertains to the Shingon position that Garbhadhātu is *tattva*-dharmakāya and the advaya-jñāna of SHK refers to the fact that Vajradhātu is *jñāna*-dharmakāya.

5. The Five Tathāgatas in both the Twin Maṇḍalas represent the profound depths of consciousness. Each of them corresponds to a different category. The correspondences of the two maṇḍalas are clearly contradistinguished, like the names of the Five Tathāgatas. They are as follows:

	GARBHADHĀTU-MAṆḌALA (tattva-dharmakāya)		VAJRADHĀTU-MAṆḌALA (jñāna-dharmakāya)	
	Tajima 1959:74		SHK.67, Tajima 1959:74 Lessing/Wayman 1958:28-35	
Centre	Vairocana	amala-vijñāna	Vairocana	SHK: śāśvata-jñāna comm: niṣprapañca-jñāna Tajima: dharmadhātu-svabhāva-jñāna Tib: dharmadhātu-jñāna
East	Ratnaketu	ālaya-vijñāna	Akṣobhya	SHK: ādarśa-jñāna comm: prabhāsvara-jñāna

South	Saṁkusumitarāja	kliṣṭa-manas	Ratnasambhava	SHK: samatājñāna (the reading ākāśamata-jñāna is to be corrected) comm: grāhya-grāhaka-rahita-jñāna
West	Amitābha	mano-vijñāna	Lokeśvara comm: Amitābha	SHK: pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna comm: sarva-dharma-nairātmya-jñāna
North	Dundubhi-nirghoṣa	pañcendriya	Amoghasiddhi	SHK: krity-ānuṣṭhāna-jñāna comm: vyāpāra riṅ sarva-karma

The above table makes it clear that the Five Knowledges of SHK pertain to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. This is further reinforced by Mkhas-grub-rje (Lessing/Wayman 1968:28-35) where the Buddha attained five knowledges in five abhisambodhis. In the first abhisambodhi He attained the 'mirror-like knowledge' (ādarśa-jñāna) which is the essence of Akṣobhya. The second abhisambodhi is 'equality knowledge' (samatā-jñāna) which is the essence of Ratnasambhava. In the third abhisambodhi He attained 'discriminative knowledge' (pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna) which is the essence of Amitābha. In the fourth abhisambodhi He attained the 'knowledge of the procedure of duty' (kṛty-ānuṣṭhāna-jñāna) which is the essence of Amoghasiddhi. In the fifth and final abhisambodhi He attained 'dharma-realm knowledge' (dharma-dhātu-jñāna) which is the essence of Vairocana.

The Five Jñāna are also found in the Japanese maṇḍala where śāśvata-jñāna of Mahāvairocana is termed dharmadhātu-svabhāva-jñāna (Tajima 1959:74). In Tibetan it is designated dharmadhātu-jñāna.

Like the SHK, the Japanese tradition has Lokeśvara-rāja, another name of Amitāyus (Tajima 1959:179).

6. Thus the SHK has both the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas. As early as 1929, Bosch had compared the pantheon of the Old Javanese texts Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha with the Japanese Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Now with the new analysis of the SHK we are on firmer ground about the presence of Twin Maṇḍalas in Indonesia.

In Japan the pair of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas is known as the Twin Maṇḍalas (*ryobu mandara*), because both of them have Mahāvairocana in the centre. In Indonesia too they form a single complex commencing with Caṇḍi Mĕndut representing the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala, that leads to Borobudur the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Between Mĕndut and Borobudur stands Pawon, also known as Bajrānalan. It has been regarded as a porch temple to Borobudur. The Pawon is a temple dedicated to Vajrānala, who is connected with fire in the Balinese (Pañca)-Bajrānala-stava (Hooykaas 1973:86). The stotra mentions *sarvāgneya śāntikarmaṇi samiddha,* which refers to śāntika homa. Vajrānala was the presiding deity of homa, a distinctive characteristic of Vajrayāna. Because of smoke this special temple had small windows. In Shingon monasteries of Japan too special halls are constructed for homa.

Layout of Caṇḍi Mĕndut. Caṇḍi Mĕndut is about 3 km. east of Borobudur. It is entered from the northwest. It has a base 30 yards × 26 yards and 12 feet high. A flight of steps leads to the temple. The temple occupies the centre of the basement leaving around a passage about 8 ft. broad.

The temple is about 15 sq. yards with small projections on three sides and a porch in front. The walls of the temple are divided into three parts by the projections, the central panel with two smaller ones on each side. The central panel of the back wall has Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara. The central panel on the north-east has an eight-armed goddess and the central panel on the oppositie side has a four-armed goddess. There are Eight Bodhisattvas in the corners.

The cella of the temple is reached through a covered doorway. In the cella on a raised floor are three thrones supporting double-petalled lotus seats. In the centre sits Vairocana in bhadrāsana. On his either side are Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara) and Vajrapāṇi. There are four niches in the walls, now devoid of statues. The roof was in three tiers with stupas on lotus-cushions placed all round, 24 in the first, 16 in the second and the whole was crowned by a stupa (Majumdar 1938:2.190).

In Mĕndut, the statues of deities and empty niches inside the cella and reliefs on the outside walls form a maṇḍala. We will describe each of them separately.

Vairocana. The central deity in Mĕndut is the Buddha figure clad in the simple robes of a monk, and seated in bhadrāsana. He is in dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā. There is a small relief depicting a wheel between two deer which represents the first sermon at Sarnath. Śākyamuni is not meant here (Kempers 1959:40). He is Śākyasiṁha Mahāvairocana. In this context Niṣpannayogavalī 66 is of help: *Śrī-Śākyasiṁho bhagavān Mahāvairocanaḥ suvarṇa-varṇo dhṛta-cakra-mudraḥ,* that is Mahāvairocana is

Śākyasiṁha of golden colour and in dharma-cakra-mudrā. SHK (p.60) mentions Vairocana with Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi as two acolytes. The wheel with two deer represents śrāvakayāna.

Padmapāṇi is on the right side of Vairocana. He has his usual attributes: lotus and statuette of Amitābha in his crown. He is the Lokeśvara of SHK.

Vajrapāṇi is on the left. His left hand rests in padmāsana, while His right hand once carried the vajra.

The three images are the finest Javanese sculptures with high degree of artistic excellence. Mahāvairocana with Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi as two acolytes is a specific feature of the Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala in its Japanese graphic representation. Mahāvairocana is the central divinity of the eight-petalled lotus, flanked by the quarter of Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara) on the left and the quarter of Vajrapāṇi on the right. Thus Vairocana adorns the centre of Caṇḍi Mĕndut as He does the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala.

Five Tathāgatas. The central cella of Mĕndut has four niches in the walls. They were once occupied by four Tathāgatas, the fifth being Vairocana himself. In the Japanese Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala they occur in the eight-petalled lotus in the central quarter. According to the Japanese Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala their names are: Ratnaketu, Saṁkusumitarāja, Amitābha, Dundubhisvara-nirghoṣa with Mahavairocana in the centre (Esot. 1-5).

Eight Bodhisattvas. Besides the Five Tathāgatas and the two acolytes the maṇḍala has Eight Bodhisattvas. They are found on the corner panels of outer walls of Mĕndut. They are identical with those of the Japanese Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. Instead of Mañjughoṣa in the Garbhadhātu, the one on Caṇḍi Mĕndut has been identified as Vajrapāṇi by Krom on the authority of the Pañcakrama edited by de la Vallée Poussin (Krom 1918:419-437). The table below compares the Eight Bodhisattvas in the two representations:

Eight Bodhisattvas	Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala	Caṇḍi Mĕndut
Mañjughoṣa (Esot. 130)	r.h. varada l.h. vajra on lotus	Vajrapāṇi SE r.h. abhaya l.h. vajra
Kṣitigarbha (Esot. 156)	r.h. gem l.h. cintāmaṇidhvaja on lotus	SE r.h. gem l.h. cintāmaṇi on lotus

Ākāśagarbha (Esot. 170)	r.h. flaming sword l.h. flaming cintāmaṇi on lotus	SW	r.h. varada l.h. upstanding sword on lotus
Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin (Esot. 165)	r.h. abhaya l.h. cintāmaṇi on lotus	NE	r.h. — l.h. flaming cintāmaṇi on lotus
Avalokiteśvara (Esot. 8)	r.h. lotus l.h. abhaya	NW	broken image
Samantabhadra (Esot.6)	r.h. varada l.h. flaming sword on lotus	NW	r.h. varada l.h. a stem divided into three studs
Maitreya (Esot. 9)	r.h. vase on lotus l.h. abhaya	NW	r.h. varada(stūpa in crown) l.h. nāgapuṣpa
Mañjuśrī (Esot.7)	r.h. book l.h. vajra on blue lotus	SW	r.h. vajra? l.h. book on blue lotus

Thus the basic structure of Mĕndut corresponds to the Japanese graphic representation of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala which comprises the following deities: Mahāvairocana and the four Tathāgatas flanked by Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi and the Eight Bodhisattvas. Two substratum deities, namely Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara and Vajradhara dominate the graphic maṇḍala in Japan by their extra-large dimension. At Caṇḍi Mĕndut, the substratum deities are Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara, Prajñāpāramitā and Cundā. Such large panels are found nowhere else in Indonesia.

Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara is represented as a gigantic relief. On the back wall Avalokiteśvara represents the origin of the maṇḍala as is clear from its name Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala (Tajima 1959:55). The very name of the maṇḍala enshrines in itself its origin: it emanates from mahākaruṇā, symbolised by Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara. In the Japanese graphic maṇḍala Avalokiteśvara is represented in such a large dimension that it stands out like Mahāvairocana. It was but natural that Caṇḍi Mĕndut should represent Avalokiteśvara prominently on the back wall as its substratum.

Cundā. The north-east panel on the outer wall of Mĕndut has an eight-armed goddess. On her either sides is a human figure holding a lotus stalk in one hand and a flywhisk in the other. The goddess holds in her right hands: conch, thunderbolt, discus and rosary. In her left hands she has: bījapūra, axe, aṅkuśa and book. Foucher has identified it correctly as the eight-armed Cundā. The different forms of Cundā with two,

four, eight, twelve, sixteen, eighteen and twentysix hands have been discussed in the following paper.

Cundā has an important place in Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. In Japanese Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala Cundā occurs in the quarter of Universal Knowledge whose centre is commanded by the Sarva-tathāgata-jñāna-mudrā, represented by a triangle which is the source of dharma (Wayman 1973:89, 154). It is in contradistinction to the void of dharmadhātu (Wayman 1973:203). Flames of light issue forth from the triangle (dharmodaya). These flames are the extraordinary light that bursts from the ūrṇā of Lord Śākyamuni in samādhi to illuminate every quarter of the world and of worlds beyond. The illuminated triangle becomes the origin of the new illumination that is to emanate as Mahāvairocana. In the Japanese maṇḍala immediately follows the central quarter of the lotus with Mahāvairocana commanding its centre. Cundā is thus associated with dharmodaya, the origination of dharma.

In the Japanese Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala Cundā is numbered 19 and it is immediately followed by Prajñāpāramitā, who is numbered 20. Cundā is rendered into Tibetan as derived from the root *cud*. The adjacent placement of the two goddesses reminds us of the sacred Gāyatrī mantra *dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt* where the root *pra-cud* means 'to urge, impel, inspire'. While *dhī* is Prajñāpāramitā, *pracodayāt* is Cundā. The last line of the Gāyatrī signifies "may it inspire our reflections, meditations, devotion, wisdom". The goddess Cundā symbolises the creative impulse of wisdom, the inspiring action, the vivifying animation of illumination (cf. Sādhanamālā 129 *raśmibhir niṣpannāṁ bhagavatīm*).

Cunda is a yakṣa who was visited by Śākyamuni according to Mahāvastu 3.327.18. Cundā seems to represent the acceptance of the Yakṣa cult in Vajrayāna.

Prajñāpāramitā. The panel on the south-west outer wall of Caṇḍi Mĕndut has the four-armed Prajñāpāramitā. The lotus pond has three lotus cushions, one bigger and higher in the centre, with two smaller ones on two sides. The central lotus is supported by two nāgas. On its sits the four-armed goddess. Of the four hands, two are placed on the lap in dhyāna-mudrā and the other two hold a rosary and a book.

Foucher has identified her as a benevolent form of Cundā but we have nothing to prove that four-armed goddess on lotus held by nāgas is Cundā. Cundā is described in three sādhanas of Sādhanamālā and thrice in Niṣpannayogāvalī and is illustrated in the Cambridge manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā. Nowhere is she connected with nāgas. Kempers (1959:39 pl.53) just terms her a goddess and gives the story that

at one time Avalokiteśvara moved by compassion for this wretched world, shed a tear which changed into a lake full of lotuses. On one of them arose a goddess.

The consolidation of the Prajñāpāramitā was done by Nāgārjuna. He came from South India. According to Harṣacarita he collected sutras from the Nāgas for the Sātavāhana king of the Deccan. It is an oft-repeated legend that he recovered the text of Prajñāpāramitā from the palace of Nāgas in the Nether Regions (Conze 1960:10). This legend lends support to our identification of the goddess whose lotus throne is held by nāgas as Prajñāpāramitā. Prajñāpāramitā plays an important role in the evolution of Vajrayāna. In SHK 45 daśa-pāramitā is the parama-mārga that leads to mahābodhi.

In a broader context Avalokiteśvara, Prajñāpāramitā and Cundā form the substratum of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara is the origin of the maṇḍala, Cundā corresponds to dharmodaya, and Prajñāpāramitā represents Pāramitā-yāna which further developed into Vajrayāna. The integration of the various yānas is evident at Borobudur, which integrates in stone Śrāvakayāna (in the form of reliefs of Karmavibhaṅga, Jātakas, Avadānas), Avataṁsaka (Gaṇḍavyūha and Bhadracarī) and Vajrayāna (as Vajradhātu-maṇḍala).

Kanchi in South India was a centre of Vajrayāna in the seventh-eighth centuries. The Twin Maṇḍalas were transmitted to Japan from Kanchi. Vajrabodhi, son of the Royal Preceptor of Kanchi, visited Indonesia on his way to China where he was one of the founding fathers of Vajrayāna. The Śailendras had intimate relations with South India. Thus it is no wonder that the disposition of the pantheon of the Caṇḍi Mĕndut and the Japanese graphic representation of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala converge to provide a definitive interpretation of the Caṇḍi Mĕndut.

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ICONOGRAPHY OF CUNDĀ

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The goddess Cundā was spoken of by Beal (1871) in the last century and he wrongly considered her to be another form of Durgā or Caṇḍī. In 1900, Foucher gave illustrations (pl.24 and 25) of two statues of Cundā, one in the British Museum and the other from Bodhgaya. He also referred to Vuṅkara and Paṭṭikerā Cundās of the two manuscripts of the Prajñāpāramitā at Cambridge. In 1928, Getty attempted to give a systematic iconography of Cundā. In 1958, Bhattacharyya gave a detailed description on the basis of the Sādhanamālā and Niṣpannayogāvalī. In 1966, Leeuw discussed many-armed forms of Cundā. In 1971, Bonheur discussed the several bronze images of Cundā from Indonesia. In 1975, Mallmann classified the iconography of Cundā. None of the aforesaid attempts are comprehensive, nor do they clearly enunciate each morphological type. The Sino-Japanese tradition which provides several new forms has been overlooked. The considerable variations in the iconography of Cundā from India, Indonesia, Japan, and Tibet have to be classified anew. The present paper is an attempt to put together all the scattered material from the widely separated traditions into a clear and concise taxonomy.

Name. The name of the goddess has some times been spelt Cuṇḍā and Cuṇḍī (e.g. by Leeuw 1966:119 ff.). Her name has been confused with Caṇḍī, spelt as Chundee in the 19th century, when a standard transcription of Sanskrit had not been worked out. Beal (1871:411) had juxtaposed Cundī with the Hindu goddess Caṇḍī: "Mat-Chundee is another name for Devī or Durgā, and doubtless the same as Mother-Tchundi (Tchundi māṭrikā)". The error has persisted over the years. Bhattacharyya (1958:22) gives the various spellings of her name as Cundī, Cuṇḍā, Cundrā, Candrā, Caṇḍā, Cundrā. The name of the goddess in Tibetan is *Skul-byed-ma* in the Tanjur (Toh.3246), while Cunda is *Skul-byed* in the Mahāvyutpatti 1045. The root *skul* has the following equivalences in different composita:

gzhen-skul-ḥdebs=preraka (Śatapañcāśatka-stotra 102)
bzhen-(b)skul-debs=codana (Bodhicaryāvatāra 5.74)

In three Tibetan xylographs illustrating Buddhist iconography, the name is transcribed as Cundā (without any variant): 300 Icons:159, 360 Icons:240, 241, Narthang Pantheon 54b, 90b. In the Tanjur (Toh. 3519, 3520, 3521) too her name is transcribed thrice as Cundā. The Chinese transcriptions also point to the dental form Cundī. The masculine name Cunda (with dental *nd*) is attested in numerous passages without any cerebral variant. This finally fixes the dental orthography Cundā/Cundī as the correct one.

The Tibetan renderings of Cundā from the root *cud* reminds us of the sacred Gāyatrī mantra *dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt* where the root *pracud* means 'to urge, impel, inspire'. The last line of the Gāyatrī signifies "may it inspire our reflections, meditations, devotion, wisdom". The goddess Cundā symbolises the creative impulse of wisdom, the inspiring action, the vivifying animation of illumination. It is but natural that in the Japanese Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala Cundā (Esot.19) is immediately followed by Prajñā-pāramitā (Esot.20).

Cundā/Cundī is the feminine form of Cunda. Cunda is the name of one or more disciples of Lord Buddha in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalita-vistara, Divyāvadāna, Mahāvyutpatti, and Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra. In the Mahāvastu 3.327.18 Cunda is the name of a yakṣa. The home of this yakṣa was Cundadvīla (v.l. -vīra, dvīlā: is it -dvīpa) between Apara-Gayā and Varanasi (Edgerton 1953:231). Cundā/Cundī seems to have been a powerful yakṣī whose integration in the Buddhist pantheon was as urgent an imperative as the owning of yakṣa Cunda as a disciple.

Antiquity. Bhattacharyya (1958:221) takes back the antiquity of Cundā to A.D.200 and A.D.300 by equating her with Candrā and Candravajrī. Candrā occurs in the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa (A.D.200) and Candravajrī in the Guhya-samāja (A.D.300). Candrā and Candravajrī pertain to the 'Moon' and have nothing in common with Cundā. These equations are not tenable and hence the earliest Indian reference to Cundā is in Śāntideva. Śāntideva who lived in the 8th century A.D., speaks of the Cundā-dhāraṇī in his Śikṣā-samuccaya 173.4 to absolve sin (*pāpa-kṣaya*). Still earlier are the dhāraṇīs translated into Chinese. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka there are four translations of the Cundī-devī-dhāraṇī:

A.D. 685 translated by Divākara (K 314, Nj 344, T 1077)
A.D. 720 translated by Amoghavajra (K 1338, Nj 346, T 1076)
A.D. 723 translated by Vajrabodhi (K 315, Nj 345, T 1075)
A.D. 725 translated by Śubhākarasiṁha (T 1078)

In all these four translations her name is transcribed 準提 as Cundī (with dental *dī*). The veneration of Cundā must have been widespread during the T'ang period when all the three translations of her dhāraṇī were done.

Lacunae in earlier studies. The iconography of Cundā described by Getty (1928:129) is incomplete and unclear. She gives her mudrā as dhyāna, and her symbols as: vase, rosary, book. From the symbols we cannot infer even the number of arms. She further explains them as taken from a sādhana. The description is not taken from a sādhana but follows the illustration in an Aṣṭasāhasrikā manuscript: *Lāṭadeśe Vuṁkarānagare Cundā,* where she is four-armed: upper hands hold rosary and book and the lower two hold a vase in meditation mudrā. In the three sādhanas 129, 130, 131 of the Sādhanamālā, Cundā holds a vessel (*pātra*) in her two main hands, and r.h. varada, l.h. book on lotus. In the Aṣṭasāhasrikā and in sādhanas, 'book' is a common attribute. But the Aṣṭabhuja-Kurukullā-sādhana (SM 174) omits the book and has other symbols r.h. varada and arrow: l.h. blue lotus and bow. NSP.26 p.89 describes Four-armed Cundā as holding r.h. sledge hammer (*mudgara*) and lance (*kunta*), and l.h. lotus and baton (*daṇḍa*). The symbols vase, rosary, book given by Getty occur in many forms where she has more than four hands.

The morphology of Cundā was fluid. The key to identification, which includes forms attested by texts or named in the illustrated pantheons, reveals that most of the forms were hardly ever repeated. Out of the 31 forms enumerated, 11 forms have been inferred by scholars. All the eight-armed forms of Cundā from Java are inferred: none of the literary or illustrated works has an eight-armed Cundā.

Getty refers to 4, 8, 16, 18 armed Cundā. The goddess has 2, 4, 8, 12, 16, 18, 20, 26 arms. Getty mentions two representations of Cundā on Candī Mĕndut (Java): one with eight arms and the other with four arms. The former is Cundā but the four-armed goddess is Prajñāpāramitā and not Cundā. Her lotus seat is upheld by nāgas. Cundā is not connected with the nāgas either in SM, NSP, Aṣṭasāhasrikā mss, or in Sino-Japanese illustrations with inscribed names. On the other hand, it is an oft-repreated legend that Nāgārjuna recovered the text of Prajñāpāramitā from the palace of Nāgas in the nether regions (Conze 1960:10).

According to Getty "Japanese Cundā in Garbha-kośa maṇḍala is found in the second enclosure called the sarvajña parṣad where she is figured with 8 (or 18) arms..." In the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of Japan (Esot.19) she has twenty arms (not 8 or 18). She occurs in the quarter of Sarva-tathāgata-jñāna-mudrā. Getty further discusses the Japanese Cundā "she is looked upon as the mother of lotus enclosure, i.e. the fourth parṣad in which are twentyone forms of Kwan-non". Cundā is not connected with the Kwan-non enclosure of the Japanese maṇḍala.

"The goddess Cundā is an emanation of Vajrasattva and is the only female deity who may have his image in the headdress" (Getty 1928:129). SM.130 clearly states *vajrasattvamukuṭām*.

KEY TO THE TYPES OF CUNDĀ

TWO-ARMED CUNDĀ

1. NSP., in Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara maṇḍala. White
   r.h. viśvavajra l.h. kamaṇḍalu suspended from a rosary
2. Tibet, Rin-ḥbyuṅ, Rin-lhan
   r.h. varada-kamaṇḍalu l.h. book on lotus

FOUR-ARMED CUNDĀ

3. SM.
   Main hands hold a vessel (pātra) r.h. varada l.h. book on lotus
4. Tibet, 300 Icons
   Main hands hold a vessel (pātra) r.h. varada l.h. abhaya holds book on lotus
5. Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon
   Main hands hold a vessel r.h. varada l.h. varada holds book on lotus
6. Chu-Fo P'u-sa shêng Hsiang Tsan: Cundī.
   Main hands hold a vessel r.h. varada holds book on a lotus l.h. varada holds lotus
7. SM. Aṣṭabhuja-Kurukullā-sādhana by Indrabhūti. Red.
   r.h. varada, arrow l.h. blue lotus (utpala), bow (cāpa)
8. NSP., in Kālacakra-maṇḍala
   r.h. sledge-hammer (mudgara), lance (kunta) l.h. lotus, baton (daṇḍa)
9. Aṣṭasāhasrikā (*Lāṭadeśe Vuṁkāranagare Cundā*). Bronze statue at Berlin.
   Main hands in dhyāna-mudrā hold a vessel
   r.h. rosary l.h. book

EIGHT-ARMED CUNDĀ

10. Cundā from Candi Mendut
    r.h. conch, vajra, discus, rosary; l.h. bījapūra, axe, aṅkuśa, book
11. Javanese bronze, inferred identification. Bonheur
    r.h. rosary, pointed object, sword (khaḍga), varada
    l.h. book, lotus, axe (paraśu), lasso (pāśa)
12. Javanese bronze at Leiden 1403-2842, inferred identification, Bonheur
    r.h. —, sword?, lasso?, varada
    l.h. —, axe?, rosary?, dhyāna-mudrā

Four-armed Cundā (no.9)
Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin

13. Javanese bronze at Surabaya, Coll. Roener, inferred identification, Bonheur
r.h. —, sword (khaḍga), —, ratna-saṁyuta-varada-mudrā?
l.h. book, —, axe, —
14. Javanese bronze at Leiden 1630-36, inferred identification, Bonheur
r.h vajra, sword (khaḍga), goad (aṅkuśa), vajra
l.h. triśūla?, cakra, ratna on a daṇḍa?, lasso
15. Javanese bronze at Leiden 1630-18, inferred identification, Bonheur
r.h. sword (khaḍga)?, lasso, goad (aṅkuśa), varada-vajra
l.h. cakra, triśūla?, ratna?, lotus?

TWELVE-ARMED CUNDĀ

16. Bronze from Nalanda in National Museum, New Delhi. Inferred identification.
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. sword, abhaya, rosary, ratnadāma? bījapūra
l.h. banner(dhvaja), book on lotus, śaṅkha, lasso, kamaṇḍalu

SIXTEEN-ARMED CUNDĀ

17. Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (A.D.1015): *Paṭṭikere Cundā-varabhavane Cundā*
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. rosary, arrow, sword, club, cakra, vajra, varada
l.h. book, dhvaja, curved knife?, bow, triśūla?, axe, kamaṇḍalu
18. Japan, Shosonzuzō, Cundī
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, bhindīpāla?, bījapūra, sword, daṇḍa?, —, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaṭa, book, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu
19. Japan, Shosonzuzō, Cundī of Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of Tendai sect. Differs from the Cundā of Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of Shingon (Esot.19).
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā.
r.h. abhaya, vajrāṅkuśa, —, bījapūra, bhindīpāla?, dhvaja?, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaṭa, book?, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu

EIGHTEEN-ARMED CUNDĀ

20. Japan, Besson-zakki
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, aṅkuśa, sword, bījapūra, paraśu?, bhindīpāla, cintāmaṇi-dhvaja, rosary
l.h.—, ratnadāma, book, lasso, —, tarjana, ghaṭa, — (one hand missing)
21. Japan, Zuzō-shō
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā

r.h. abhaya, vajra, garland, bījapūra, cintāmaṇi, sword, bhindīpāla?, rosary
l.h. varada-lotus, cakra, book, ghaṭa, ratnadāma, lasso, —, kamaṇḍalu

22. Japan, Shosonzuzō, Cundī
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, khakkhara?, sword, club (gadā), —, bījapūra, axe, cāmara
l.h. abhaya, lasso, ghaṭa, ratnadāma, —, —, dhvaja, kamaṇḍalu

23. Japan, Shosonzuzō
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, bījapūra, vajrāṅkuśa, sword, axe, bhindīpāla, cintāmaṇi, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaṭa?, book, lasso, ghaṭa, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu

24. Japan, Shosonzuzō, Cundī of Garbhadhātu maṇḍala of Tendai sect, which differs from that of Garbhadhātu maṇḍala of Shingon (Esot.19).
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, viśvavajr-āṅkuśa, —, bījapūra, bhindīpāla?, dhvaja?, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaṭa, book?, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu

25. Inscribed stone sculpture of Nalanda in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Inferred identification.
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. rosary, vajra, —, —, ratnadāma, sword, abhaya, bījapūra
l.h. book, ghaṭa, conch, cakra, lasso?, dhvaja, lotus?, kamaṇḍalu

26. Javanese bronze in the Natural History Museum, Vienna. Inferred identification.
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. rosary, vajra, broken, broken, ratnadāma, bījapūra, sword?, abhaya
l.h. book, ghaṭa, lotus? cakra, conch, lasso, dhvaja?, kamaṇḍalu

TWENTY-ARMED CUNDĀ

27. Japan, Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala (Esot.19)
r.h. viśvavajra, abhaya holds viśvavajra on index finger, goad (aṅkuśa), arrow, bhindīpāla, tarjana, cintāmaṇi, bījapūra, lasso, cintāmaṇi-dhvaja?/daṇḍa
l.h. —, lotus, book, sword, —, rosary, tripatākābhinaya?, ivory, bell, —

TWENTYSIX-ARMED CUNDĀ

28. Three faces: yellow, white, blue. Direction: NE in the Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala (NSP.)
Main hands in mūla-mudrā
r.h. rosary (akṣasūtra), tripatākābhinaya, vajra, goad (aṅkuśa), sledge-hammer (mudgara), club (gadā), axe, arrow, bījapūra, ratnadāma, sword (khaḍga), abhaya
l.h. Prajñāpāramitā-book, bhindīpāla, ghaṭa, tarjana, sword, cakra, śakti, bow (cāpa),

Eighteen-armed Cundā (no.26)
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien (Austria), Nr. 68.792
Bronze, 8-12 century, height 11 cm.
Published in: R. Heine-Geldern; *Altjavanische Bronzen*, Wien 1925, p.21, illust.12

lasso, kamaṇḍalu, lotus, cintāmaṇidhvaja
Same attributes in different order in Rin-ḥbyuṅ 90b, Rin-lhan 2.60a3.

Images of doubtful identification. No text or iconographic treatise describes Cundā as seated on a human body, or her lotus seat being held up by nāgas. Such images identified as Cundā have been put together here as of doubtful identity.

SIXTEEN-ARMED

29. Bronze image in Baroda Museum.
Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā holding scull-cup
r.h. sword, drum, knife, —, hammer, ratnadāma, abhaya
l.h. shield, ghaṇṭā, lasso, dagger, aṅkuśa, arrow, varada

EIGHTEEN-ARMED

30. Stone sculpture from Niyamatpur, V.R.S. Museum, Rajshahi
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. rosary, vajra, hatchet, aṅkuśa, ratnadāma, sword, bījapūra, abhaya
l.h. lotus, kamaṇḍalu, dhvaja, vase, cakra, śaṅkha, pot, book
Cf. Javanese bronze in Vienna.
Slight variations in the bronze from Nalanda in the National Museum, New Delhi (Leeuw 1966:pl.XX)
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. rosary, vajra, —, —, sword, ratnadāma, bījapūra, abhaya
l.h. book, pot, conch, cakra, dhvaja, lasso, kamaṇḍalu, lotus

31. Bodhgaya (nāgarājas hold the lotus)
Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā
r.h. vajra, aṅkuśa?, khaṭvāṅga or axe, jewels?, sword, bījapūra, abhaya
l.h. pot?, —, cakra, lasso?, kamaṇḍalu, lasso?, dhvaja, lotus

DESCRIPTION OF THE AFORESAID FORMS OF CUNDĀ

TWO-ARMED CUNDĀ

1. Cundā is the eighth of Twelve Dhāraṇī deities in the northern direction of the second circle of Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara-maṇḍala. All the twelve dhāraṇī deities carry viśva-vajra in their right hands and in the left hands their respective attribute. Cundā is white (*śuklā*) and her special attribute is kamaṇḍalu suspended from the rosary (*akṣasūtrāvalambita-kamaṇḍalu-dharā*). NSP.21.65 p.57, Bhattacharyya 1958:222.

2. As a form of Tārā illustrated in Rin-ḥbyuṅ 54b, Rin-lhan 314 b2 (Ḥphags-ma Tsunda Tārā= Arya Cundā Tārā). Vajraparyaṅka.
   r.h. varada holds kamaṇḍalu l.h. book on lotus

FOUR-ARMED CUNDĀ

3. SM. 129, 130, 131 describe Cundā as four-armed. Both main hands hold a vessel (*karadvaye pātradharām* SM.129) and other two r.h. in varada and l.h. book on the lotus. She is one-faced, vajrasattva in her diadem (*vajrasattva-mukuṭā* SM.130), *sattva-paryaṅkāsīnā* (SM.131) or *padmacandra-saṁsthā* (SM.129). Her colour is like the illumination of the autumnal moon (*śaraccandrābhāṁ* or *-prabhāṁ* SM.131). Bhattacharyya 1958:221, Bonheur 1971:206, Mallmann 1975:144, illustrated in Gordon 1959:74 (now in the Freer Gallery of Art).
4. Vajra-paryaṅka. Main hands hold a vessel.
   r.h. varada l.h. abhaya holds book on lotus
   Illustrated in 300 Icons:159
5. Vajra-paryaṅka. Main hands hold a vessel.
   r.h. varada l.h. varada holds book on lotus
   Illustrated in Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon A6B60:Ssŭ-pei Chun-t 'i fo-mu=Caturbhujā Cundī devī.
6. Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands hold a vessel (pātra)
   r.h. varada holds a book on a lotus l.h. varada holds a lotus
   Illustrated in P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan 240: Ssŭ-pei Chun-t'i fo-mu=Caturbhujā Cundī devī.
7. In the centre of the eight-petalled red lotus sits Kurukullā. In the NE (īśāna) petal is Cundā. As a companion deity of eight-armed Kurukullā Cundā is red, *pañcatathāgata-mukuṭā* and *vajraparyaṅka-niṣaṇṇā*.
   r.h. varada and arrow drawn to the ear (*dakṣiṇa-bhujābhyāṁ varada-mudr-ākarṇa-pūrita-śarā*)
   l.h. blue lotus and bow. The other seven accompanying deities have the same attributes (SM.174). Bhattacharyya 1958:222, Bonheur 1971:206, Mallmann 1975:144.
8. The gates (*dvāra*) of kāya-maṇḍala of Kālacakra-maṇḍala (NSP.26 p.89) are occupied by Krodha deities in the six quarters (i.e. east, south, west, north, above and below). In the south is white Cundā with her consort Ṭakkirāja whose chariot is drawn by seven red horses: *dakṣiṇe sapta-rakt-āśva-rathe Ṭakkirājo Ratneśavat. Anenāliṅgitā Cundā śuklā savyābhyām mudgara-kuntau vāmābhyāṁ*

padmadaṇḍau bibhrāṇā.

r.h. sledge-hammer, lance l.h. lotus, baton (daṇḍa)

Bhattacharyya 1958:222, Mallmann 1975:143.

9. Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dhyānamudrā hold a vessel.

r.h. rosary l.h. book

Lāṭadeśe Vuṁkāranagare Cundā in Aṣṭasāhasrikā (A.D. 1015) fol. 188r2, Foucher I.58, p.144, pl.VIII.3. Bronze statue in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin II. 198

EIGHT-ARMED CUNDĀ

10. Cundā from Candi Mendut in the centre of north-eastern panel. Richly ornamented, seated on a lotus cushion in vajraparyaṅka. On each side of the goddess is a human figure holding a lotus stalk and a fly-whisk.

r.h. conchshell, vajra, discus, rosary l.h. bījapūra, axe, aṅkuśa, book

Majumdar 1938:2.189

11. Inferred identification. Javanese bronze, 10th cent.?, Musée Guimet 3624 (Bonheur 1971:204-212). Ardha-paryaṅka (lalitāsana, lalitākṣepa).

r.h. rosary, pointed object, sword (khaḍga), varada

l.h. book, lotus, axe (paraśu), lasso (pāśa)

12. Inferred identification. Javanese bronze at Leiden 1403-2842. Vajraparyaṅka.

r.h. —, sword (khaḍga)?, lasso (pāśa)?, varada

l.h. —, axe?, rosary?, dhyāna-mudrā (Bonheur 1971:208-214)

13. Inferred identification. Javanese bronze at Surabaya, Coll. Roener. Vajraparyaṅka.

r.h. —, sword (khaḍga), —, ratnasaṁyukta-varada-mudrā?

l.h. book, —, paraśu, —

Bonheur 1971:208-214

14. Inferred identification. Javanese bronze at Leiden 1630-36, sattva-paryaṅka (cf.SM.131:*sattva-paryaṅk-āsīnā*)

r.h. vajra, sword (khaḍga), goad (aṅkuśa), vajra

l.h. triśūla?, cakra, ratna? on daṇḍa, lasso

Bonheur 1971:208-214

15. Inferred identification. Javanese bronze at Leiden 1630-18. Vajraparyaṅka.

r.h. sword (khaḍga)?, lasso, goad (aṅkuśa), varada-vajra

l.h. cakra, triśūla?, ratna?, lotus?

Bonheur 1971:208-214.

TWELVE-ARMED CUNDĀ

16. Inferred identification. Bronze from Nalanda in National Museum, New Delhi. Bosch identifies her as a special form of Prajñāpāramitā.
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā
r.h. sword, abhaya, rosary, ratnadāma?, bījapūra
l.h. banner (dhvaja), book on lotus, śaṅkha, lasso, kamaṇḍalu
Bosch 1927:30, Leeuw 1966:133, 142pl.XXII.

SIXTEEN-ARMED CUNDĀ

17. Miniature painting in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (A.D. 1015), ms. at Cambridge University Library Add.1643, with caption in Newari script *Paṭṭikere Cundā-vara-bhavane Cundā*. Cundā temple at Paṭṭikera is identified by Dr. Bhattasali with the remains on the Lalmai hills in Tippera in East Bengal. Leeuw considers it the only represention of Cundā with 16 arms but we have 16-armed Cundā in Japan.
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā (r.h. holds the stalk of a lotus)
r.h. rosary, arrow, sword, club, cakra, vajra, varada
l.h. book, dhvaja, dagger, bow, triśūla, axe, kamaṇḍalu
Foucher 1900:I.199 (fol.176 v.1), pl. VIII.4, Bhattasali 1929:9-10, Bhattacharyya 1958:223, Leeuw 1966:120-138, 140 pl.17, Bonheur 1971:206

18. Japan, Shosonzuzō (A.D. 1858) 217, Cundī
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā.
r.h. abhaya, bhindīpāla?, bījapūra, sword, daṇḍa, —, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaṭa, book, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu
Huntington 1975:217

19. Japan, Shosonzuzō (A.D. 1858) 219 Cundī of Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of Tendai sect differs from the Cundā of Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of Shingon (Esot.19).
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā.
r.h. abhaya, vajrāṅkuśa, —, bījapūra, bhindīpāla?, dhvaja?, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaṭa, book?, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu
Huntington 1975:219

EIGHTEEN-ARMED CUNDĀ

Divākara (T1077) terms the Sapta-koṭī-bhagavatī or 18-armed form as Mahācundī (Chin. Ta-chun-t'i). Vajrabodhi (T1075) calls her Cundī mahāvidyā (Chin. Chun-t'i ta-ming).

20. Japan, Besson-zakki 'description of divinities by Shinkaku' 87.81.
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā.
r.h. abhaya, aṅkuśa, sword, bījapūra, paraśu?, bhindīpāla, cintāmaṇi-dhvaja, rosary
l.h. —, ratnadāma, book, lasso, —, tarjana, ghaṭa, —, one hand missing.
21. Japan, Zuzo-sho 86.60 Sapta-koṭī-bhagavatī.
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, vajra, puṣpamālā, bījapūra, cintāmaṇi, sword, bhindīpāla, rosary
l.h. varada-lotus, cakra, book, ghaṭa, ratnadāma, —, lasso, kamaṇḍalu
22. Japan, Shosonzuzō dated 1858, Cundī according to Tendai iconography.
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. —, khakkara?, sword, club, —, bījapūra, axe, cāmara
l.h. abhaya, lassa, ghaṭa, ratnadāma, —, —, dhvaja, kamaṇḍalu
Huntington 1975:215
23. Japan, Shosonzuzō 218. Cundī according to Tendai iconography.
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, bījapūra, vajrāṅkuśa, sword, axe, bhindīpāla, cintāmaṇi, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, maṇi?, book, lasso, ghaṭa, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu
Huntington 1975:218.
24. Japan, Shosonzuzō 219. Cundī of Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of Tendai sect differs from the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of Shingon sect (Esot.19).
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā.
r.h. abhaya, viśva-vajra with an aṅkuśa on it, —, bījapūra, bhindīpāla?,dhvaja?, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaṭa, book, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu
Huntington 1975:219
25. Inscribed stone sculpture of Nalanda in Indian Museum, Calcutta.
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. rosary, vajra, —, handle?, ratnadāma, sword, abhaya, bījapūra
l.h. book, pot, śaṅkha, cakra, lasso?, dhvaja, lotus?, kamaṇḍalu
Leeuw 1966:142 pl.XXI
26. Javanese bronze at Vienna in the Natural History Museum. Krom and Kempers identified it as Prajñāpāramitā.
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā/mūla-mudrā
r.h. rosary, vajra, —, —, ratnadāma, bījapūra, sword?, abhaya
l.h. book, ghaṭa, stalk of lotus?, cakra, śaṅkha, lasso?, dhvaja?, kamaṇḍalu
Krom 1912-1913:67-69, 1925-26:94, Heine-Geldern 1925:pl.12, Kempers 1933:44, Bhattacharyya 1958:221-222, Leeuw 1966:125, 141 pl.17b.

TWENTY-ARMED CUNDĀ

27. Japan, Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala (Esot.19)

Vajraparyaṅka, crown of Pañca-tathāgata.

r.h. viśvavajra, abhaya-viśvavajra on index finger, vajrāṅkuśa, arrow, bhindipāla?, tarjana, cintāmaṇi, bījapūra, lasso, cintāmaṇi-dhvaja/daṇḍa

l.h. —, lotus, book, sword, —, rosary, tripatākābhinaya?, ivory, bell, kamaṇḍalu?

TWENTYSIX-ARMED CUNDĀ occurs in the second circle of Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala NSP.20. 14 p.49. Lalitākṣepa. Mañjuvajra is associated with Vairocana (*iha Vairocana-svabhāvo Mañjuvajraḥ*, NSP. p.52). Cundā is affiliated to Mañjuvajra. Thus her association with Vairocana is assured.

28. Three faces: blue, white and yellow. Direction N.E. Colour candra-varṇa.

Both main hands in mūla-mudrā (*samputāñjaliṁ kṛtvā tarjanyā madhyamā-madhya-parvaṇi kuṇḍalākāreṇ-āvasthāpya aṅguṣṭhau tarjanī-pārśva-mūle dhārayet ity asya mūla-mudrā*).

r.h. abhaya, sword (khaḍga), ratnadāma, bījapūra, arrow (śara), axe, club, sledge-hammer (mudgara), goad (aṅkuśa), vajra, tripatākābhinaya, rosary

l.h. cintāmaṇi-dhvaja, lotus, kamaṇḍalu, lasso (pāśa), bow (cāpa), śakti, cakra, sword, tarjana, ghaṭa, bhindīpāla, Prajñāpāramitā-book.

Aiśānyāṁ Cundā candra-varṇā ṣaḍviṁśati-bhujā pradhānābhyāṁ hṛdi mūla-mudrā, dakṣiṇair abhayaṁ khaḍgaṁ ratnadāma bījapūraṁ śaraṁ paraśuṁ gadāṁ mudgaram aṅkuśaṁ tripatāk-ābhinayam akṣasūtraṁ ca; vāmaiś cintāmaṇidhvajaṁ padmaṁ kamaṇḍaluṁ pāśaṁ cāpaṁ śaktiṁ cakraṁ khaḍgaṁ tarjanaṁ ghaṭaṁ bhiṇḍipālaṁ Prajñāpāramitā-pustakaṁ ca bibhratī svaccha-kañcuka-bhṛd utsaṅga-baddhottarīyā nava-nāṭya-rasa-rāśiḥ mūla-mukhaṁ śvetaṁ, dakṣiṇaṁ nīlaṁ lalaj-jihvām īśad-daṁṣṭra-karālāṁ, vāmaṁ pītaṁ gṛhīt-ādharoṣṭham.

Bhattacharyya 1958:222, Bonheur 1971:206, Mallmann 1975:145.

Rin-ḥbyuṅ 90b, Rin-lhan 2.60a3: same attributes in different order.

Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan 241: Bahubhujā Cundī has three faces, main hands in mūla-mudrā, seated in lalitāsana. The attributes of the hands are not visible.

Images of doubtful identification.

SIXTEEN-ARMED

29. Bronze image in the Baroda Museum.

Sattva-paryaṅka or seated on the prostrate figure of a man lying on his back. Main

hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā. The right hand holds a scull cup.
r.h. sword, drum, knife, —, hammer, ratnadāma, abhaya
l.h. shield/discus, ghaṇṭā, lasso, dagger, aṅkuśa, arrow, varada
Bhattacharyya 1958:224, Leeuw 1966:143 pl.XXIII

EIGHTEEN-ARMED

30. Stone image from Niyamatpur at the Varendra Research Society Museum, Rajshahi 1591.
The figure is seated on a lotus, the stalk of which is held by two nāgas, Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā.
r.h. rosary, vajra, hatchet, aṅkuśa, ratnadāma, sword, bījapūra, abhaya
l.h. book, pot, śaṅkha, cakra, vase, dhvaja, kamaṇḍalu, lotus
Leeuw 1966:127, 141 pl.XIX
Eighteen-armed bronze from Nalanda in National Museum 47.34 New Delhi is similar to the Niyamatpur stone image (Leeuw 1966:125-129 pl.XX). Kempers (1933:44) identifies it as Prajñāpāramitā.

31. Stone image from Bodhgaya, seated on a double lotus, the stalk of which is supported by two Nāgarājas.
Two pairs of hands broken. Perhaps they were in dharma-cakra-mudrā, and two are in abhaya-mudrā, holding a lotus
r.h. vajra, —, khaṭvāṅga or axe, —, jewels?, sword, varada holds bījapūra?
l.h. pot, —, cakra, —, kamaṇḍalu, lasso?, dhvaja
Foucher 1900:146 note 1, Bhattacharyya 1958:224, Leeuw 1966:123, 140 pl. XVIII.

YO-MU, MU, T'IEN-MU AND FO-MU

Cundā is termed a *devī* and *bhagavatī* in the Sādhanamālā. In Chinese and Japanese she is *fo-mu* (lit. *fo* 'Buddha', *mu* 'mother'). It is translated word-to-word as 'Mother of Buddha' or 'the Holy Mother of all Buddhas'. The expression can be compared to Skt. *māṭṛkā* which means a female deity or goddess in general. *Fo-mu* has created misunderstanding, e.g. 'Hail ! Mother of Seven Koṭis of Buddha's (Beal 1871:413). In fact it should be Sapta-koṭi-bhagavatī. Beal (1871:411) says: "Often spoken of as 'Our Lady' (*Neang-neang*) or the Holy-Mother (*shing-moo*), or 'the Mother of Buddha', or the Holy Mother of all the Buddhas'." This mistake has been repeated over the years, for instance, Getty (1928:129) says: She "is sometimes called the 'Mother of Buddha'." The meaning of the word mother as a physical mother, a female parent, has remained a source of misapprehension and confusion. The original intention and signification of the Chinese

word was *devī/bhagavatī*. In Chinese three words are used for *devī/bhagavatī: fo-mu, yo-mu* and *mu*. *Yo-mu* means 'the noble mother'. *Yo* 嶽 means 'a lofty mountain peak' (Giles no. 13,367). An analysis of the two Chinese pantheons, the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon (A) and the Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan (B, Clark 1937), reveals that the three Chinese terms mean only a devī or bhagavatī. Yo-mu is applied to eight goddesses

A2A	1	Ch'ih-pang yo-mu	= Daṇḍa-dharā
	2	Ch'ih-ya yo-mu	= Daṁṣṭra-dharā
	3	Shih-i yo-mu	= Dūtī
	4	Shih-hsiang yo-mu	= Kāladhvajā? or Kālaketu?
	14	Chiang-lin yo-mu	
	15	Ch'ih-cho yo-mu	= Sphoṭā (NSP.p.76 in Pañca-ḍāka-maṇḍala)
	16	Ch'ih-shêng yo-mu	= Pāśinī (NSP.p.75)
	17	Ch'ih-kou yo-mu	= Aṅkuśī (NSP.p.75)

In terms of frequency, *mu* is the next epithet. It appears after the name of Pāramitās, Pūjā-devīs, Tithi-devīs, masī-devīs of the Mārīcī-maṇḍala, and several other goddesses. It is clearly a feminine suffix, a 'half-word' rather than a 'full word', a morpheme rather than a full-fledged semanteme.

(i) Pāramitās

A4A	1	Yüan Po-lo-mi mu	= Praṇidhāna-Pāramitā
	2	Fang-pien Po-lo-mi mu	= Úpāyakauśalya-Pāramitā
	3	Ch'an-ting Po-lo-mi mu	= Dhyāna-Pāramitā
	4	Chiang-chin Po-lo-mi mu	= Vīrya-Pāramitā
	14	Jên-ju Po-lo-mi mu	= Kṣānti-Pāramitā
	15	Ch'ih-wei Po-lo-mi mu	= Śīla-Pāramitā
	16	Hui-shih Po-lo-mi mu	= Dāna-Pāramitā
	17	Chih-hui Po-lo-mi mu	= Jñāna-Pāramitā

(ii) Exterior Pūjā-devīs

A2B	22	Ch'ih-hua mu	= Puṣpā
	23	Ch'ih-hsiang mu	= Dhūpā (A3A40...fo-mu)
	24	Ch'ih-têng mu	= Dīpā (A3A30...fo-mu)
	25	Ch'ih-hsiang-shui mu	= Gandhā

Interior Puja-devis

		—	= Lāsyā
A2B	7	Ch'ih-man mu	= Mālyā

A2B	8	Ko-pai mu	= Gītā
	9	Miao-wu mu	= Nṛtyā
Saṅgraha-devīs			
A2B	10	Chin-kang-kou mu	= Vajrāṅkuśī
	11	Chin-kang-shêng mu	= Vajrapāśī
	12	Chin-kang-cho mu	= Vajrasphoṭī
	13	Chin-kang-ling mu	= Vajraghaṇṭā
(iii) Tithi-devīs			
A3A	18	Ti-t'i k'a-cha mu	= Ṣaṣṭhī tithi
	8	Ti-t'i sa-pu-ta mu	= Saptamī tithi
	7	Ti-t'i a-k'a-cha mu	= Aṣṭamī tithi
	5	Ti-t'i na-va mu	= Navamī tithi
	6	Ti-t'i ta-sha mu	= Daśamī tithi
(iv) Masī-devīs of the Mārīci-maṇḍala (NSP.p.41)			
A6B	10	Lan-mu-ta-lieh-ta-na-ma-hsi mu	= Antardhānamasī
	11	Ma-ha-lieh-tsu-wa-lieh-ma-hsi mu	= Mahācīvaramasī
	12	Pa-ta-lieh-ka-lieh-ma-hsi mu	= Padākramamasī
	23	A-lieh-ka-ma-hsi mu	= Arkamasī
	24	Ma-lieh-ka-ma-hsi mu	= Markamasī
(v) Others			
A3A	47	Chin-kang-ch'a-ka mu	= Vajraḍākinī
A5B	18	Pao-tsui-shêng mu	= Ratnavijayā
	19	Miao-yin mu	= Sarasvatī
	20	T'ien-jung mu	= —
	21	Fu-tzŭ-tsai mu	= Puṇyeśvarī?
	22	To tsun mu	= —
	23	Pao-tzŭ-tsai mu	= Ratneśvarī?
	24	Chuang-yen mu	= —
	25	Lung-chung-shêng mu	= —
	33	Tsui-shêng mu	= Vijayā
	34	Ming-tien tsun mu	= —
	35	Ming-yüeh mu	= —
	36	Wu-ma mu	= Umā
	47	Pai Lung mu	= Sita-Nāgī

T'IEN-MU

(i) Note t'ien-mu = devī in the Five devīs in the Mañjuśrī quarter of the Japanese Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala.

A5B	17	Miao-fa t'ien-mu	= Keśinī devī
	58	T'ung-miao-fa t'ien-mu	= Upakeśinī devī
A5B	59	Chu-p'in t'ien-mu	= Citrā devī
	60	Ts'ai-po t'ien-mu	= Vasumatī devī
	61	Nêng-chü t'ien-mu	= Ākarṣaṇī devī

(ii) Others

A5B	28	Shih-hsiang t'ien-mu	= Kāladhvajā?/Kālaketu?devī
	29	Yu t'ien-mu	= Kaumārī? devī
	30	Na-lo-yen t'ien-mu	= Nārāyaṇī devī
	31	Wa-lieh-hsi t'ien-mu	= Vārāhī devī
	32	Tsa-mên-chih t'ien-mu	= Cāmuṇḍā devī
	41	Shêng t'ien-mu	= Jayā devī
	42	Tsun-shêng t'ien-mu	= Vijayā devī
	44	Ti t'ien-mu	= Pṛthivī devī
	49	Miao-yin t'ien-mu	= Sarasvatī devī
	53	Ling-an t'ien-mu	= Īśānī devī
	54	Wu-ma t'ien-mu	= Umā devī
	57	Wu-nêng-shêng-fên-nu t'ien-mu	= Krodhāparājitā devī

FO-MU (*fo* 'Buddhist', *mu* 'goddess') is the most widely used classifier.

A2A	54	Chin-kang-wei fo-mu	= Rasavajrā
	55	Chin-kang-hsiang fo-mu	= Gandhavajrā
	56	Chin-kang-shêng fo-mu	= Śabdavajrā
	57	Chin-kang-sê fo-mu	= Rūpavajrā
	58	Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Tārā
	59	Pai-i fo-mu	= Pāṇḍaravāsinī
	60	Wu-wo fo-mu	= Nairātmā
	61	Fo-yen fo-mu	= Locanā
A2B	6	Yu-shi fo-mu	= Lāsyā
		(other seven Mālyā, Gītā, Nṛtyā, Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajrapāśī, Vajrasphoṭā, Vajraghaṇṭā end in *mu*, but are fo-mu in A3 48-57).	
	41	Tsa-lieh-tzŭ-ka fo-mu	= Carcikā
	42	Wa-la-hsi fo-mu	= Vārāhī

A2B	43	La-ka-la-ti fo-mu	= —
	44	Kao-li fo-mu	= Gaurī
A3A	9	Chiao-wan-shou-yin fo-mu	= —
	10	Ch'ih-cho fo-mu	= Sphoṭā
	11	Ta-lieh-ma-ta-tu fo-mu	= Dharmadhātu devī
	12	Ch'ih-lien-hua fo-mu	= Padmadharā
	13	Lien-hua-ch'a-ka fo-mu	= Padmaḍākinī
	22	Ch'ih-tien fo-mu	= Vidyuddharā
	23	Ch'ih-liu-hsing fo-mu	= Ulkādharā
	24	Ch'ih-shuang-têng fo-mu	= Dīpayugmadharā
	25	Ch'ih-jih fo-mu	= Sūryadharā
	40	Ch'ih-hsiang fo-mu	= Dhūpā
	41	Ch'ih-man fo-mu	= Pukkasī
	42	Ka-ssŭ-ma-li fo-mu	= Ghasmarī
	43	Pai Po-ta-li fo-mu	= Sita Vetālī
	44	Tsao-li fo-mu	= Caurī
	45	Kao-li fo-mu	= Gaurī
	48	Miao-wu fo-mu	= Nṛtyā
	49	Na-lo-ch'a-chi-ni fo-mu	= Nāro-ḍākinī
	50	Ko-pai fo-mu	= Gītā
	53	Ch'ih-hua fo-mu	= Puṣpā
	54	Ch'ih-kou fo-mu	= Aṅkuśī
	55	Ch'ih-wang fo-mu	= Jālinī
	56	Ch'ih-shêng fo-mu	= Pāśī
	57	Ch'ih-chien fo-mu	= —
	59	Chuan-pi-ni fo-mu	= Ḍombinī
	60	Tsan-ta-li fo-mu	= Cāṇḍālī
	61	Sha-wa-li fo-mu	= Śabarī
A3B	1	Chin-kang-yü fo-mu	= Rāgavajrā (NSP.9)
	2	Chin-kang-jou-shan fo-mu	= Vajrasaumyā (NSP.9)
	3	Ch'a-chi-ni fo-mu	= [Vajra-]Ḍākinī (NSP.9)
	4	Chin-kang-ti fo-mu	= Pṛithivīvajrā (NSP.9)
	5	Chin-kang-sheng fo-mu	= Śabdavajrā (NSP.9)
	39	Kao-li fo-mu	= Gaurī
	40	Ku-lu-ku-lo fo-mu	= Kurukullā

A3B 44	Ch'ih-kuan fo-mu	= —
45	Ma-ma-chi fo-mu	= Māmakī
46	Pai-i fo-mu	= Pāṇḍaravāsinī
47	Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Tārā
49	Ch'ih-p'i-p'a fo-mu	= Vīṇā (NSP.10)
50	Ch'ih-yüan-ku fo-mu	= Mukundā (NSP.10)
53	Ch'ih-mên-so fo-mu	= Tālikā (NSP.77)
54	Ch'ih-yao-shih fo-mu	= Kuñcī (NSP.77)
55	Ch'ih-mên fo-mu	= Kapāṭā (NSP.77)
56	Ch'ih-man fo-mu	= Paṭadhāriṇī (NSP.77)
57	Fo-yen fo-mu	= Locanā
58	Tsê-la-pa-la-ka fo-mu	= —
59	Tsan-ta-li fo-mu	= Caṇḍālī
60	Chin-kang-fên-nu fo-mu	= Vajrabhṛkuṭī
61	Chin-kang-sê-hsiang fo-mu	=Vajraputtalī?
Twelve Bhūmis		
A4A 5	P'u-kuang fo-mu	= Samantaprabhā
6	Fa-yün fo-mu	= Dharma-meghā
7	Shan-hui fo-mu	= Sādhumatī
8	Pu-tung fo-mu	= Acalā
18	Yüan-hsing fo-mu	= Dūraṅgamā
19	Hsien-ch'ien fo-mu	= Abhimukhī
20	Nan-shêng fo-mu	= Sudurjayā
21	Kuang-hui fo-[mu]	= Arciṣmatī
26	Fa-kuang fo-mu	= Prabhākarī
27	Wu-kou fo-mu	= Vimalā
28	Huan-hsi fo-mu	= Pramuditā
29	Fa-hsin-hsing-ti fo-mu	= Abhimukti-caryā
Four Goddesses in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (NSP.44)		
22	Chin-kang-fa fo-mu	= Dharmavajrī
23	Chin-kang-pao fo-mu	= Ratnavajrī
24	Chin-kang-yung-shih fo-mu	= Sattvavajrī
52	Chin-kang-jou-shan fo-mu	= Karmavajrī
A4B 45	Maio-wu fo-mu	= Nṛtyā
55	Yo-hsi fo-mu	= Lāsyā

A4B	56	Ch'ih-man fo-mu	= Mālyā
	57	Ko-pai fo-mu	= Gītā
A5M	1	Ma-ma-chi fo-mu	= Māmakī
	2	Ch'ing chiu-tu fo-mu	= Nīla-Tārā
	8	Pai-i fo-mu	= Pāṇḍaravāsinī
	9	Fo-yen fo-mu	= Locanā
A5A	30	Mei-ming fo-mu	= —
	32	P'in-mei fo-mu	= Bhṛkuṭī
	33	Lan chiu-tu fo-mu	= Nīla-Tārā
	43	Chin-kang-so fo-mu	= Vajrasphoṭī
	44	Chin-kang-chien fo-mu	= Vajrāgrā
	45	Ma-ma-chi fo-mu	= Māmakī
	48	Pai-i fo-mu	= Pāṇḍaravāsinī
	55	Pai-hao fo-mu	= Ūrṇā?
A6M	1	Chi-kuang fo-mu	= Mārīci
	2	Pai Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Sita-Tārā
	3	Tsun-shêng fo-mu	= Vijayā
	7	Pai-san-kai fo-mu	= Sitātapatrā
	8	Lü Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Śyāma-Tārā
	9	Sui-ch'iu fo-mu	= Pratisarā
A6A	23	Chin-kang-cho fo-mu	= Vajraśṛṅkhalā
	24	Chin-kang-kan-ta-li fo-mu	= Vajragāndhārī
	25	Huang Wu-nêng-shêng fo-mu	= Pīta-Aparājitā
	37	Chieh-t'o-tou-chan fo-mu	= Saṁgrāma-tāriṇī
	38	Ch'uang-ting-pei-yen fo-mu	= Dhvajāgra-keyūrā
	39	Ta-hui fo-mu	= Mahāpratyaṅgirā
	43	Chi-kuang fo-mu	= Mārīci
	47	Pai-san-kai fo-mu	= Sitātapatrā
	51	Huang Miao-yin fo-mu	= Rakta-Sarasvatī
	53	Ch'u-tu fo-mu	= Jāṅgulī
	54	Pai Chu-p'in fo-mu	= Sita-Viśvā
	55	Sha-mên fo-mu	= Śramaṇā
	56	Ch'eng-chiu-i-ch'ieh chiu-tu fo-mu	= Sarvārtha-sādhana Tārā
Pañcarakṣā			
	57	Ch'ien-tsui-sui fo-mu	= Sāhasrapramardanī

A6A	58	Mi-chou-sui-ch'ih fo-mu	= Mantrānudhāraṇī
	59	Han-lin fo-mu	= Śītavatī
	60	Ta-k'ung-ch'iao fo-mu	= Mahāmāyūrī
	61	Pan-jo fo-mu	= Prajñāpāramitā
A6B	1	Pi-tsu Chi-kuang fo-mu	= Mārīci with jade girdle
	2	Shih-êrh-pei Chi-kuang fo-mu	= Dvādaśabhuja Mārīci
	3	Liu-pei Yeh-i fo-mu	= Ṣaḍbhuja Parṇaśabarī
	5	Liu-pei Miao-yin fo-mu	= Ṣaḍbhuja Sarasvatī
	26	Tsun-shêng fo-mu	= Vijayā
	27	Ch'u-ts'ai fo-mu	= —
	29	Fên-nu Wei-chi fo-mu	= —
	31	Su-yung Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Pravīra-Tārā
	32	Tzŭ-chu-lin Tara fo-mu	= Khadiravaṇī
	37	Pai Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Sita-Tārā
	39	Sui-ch'iu fo-mu	= Pratisarā
	41	Ch'u-tu fo-mu	= Jāṅgulī
	48	Chên-tan Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Cīna-Tārā
	58	Ch'u-wu-ch'u Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Durgottāriṇī-Tārā
	59	Êrh-pei I-chi fo-mu	= Dvibhuja Ekajaṭā
	60	Ssŭ-pei Chun-ti fo-mu	= Caturbhuja Cundī
	61	Shih-pei Chi-kuang fo-mu	= Daśabhuja Mārīci

In Chu Fo P'u-sa Sheng Hsiang Tsan (B), 168 Buddhist goddesses end with the classifier fo-mu.

Pañcarakṣā (B201-205)

201	Ta-ch'ien-ts'ui-sui fo-mu	= Mahāsāhasrapramardinī
202	Ta-k'ung-ch'iao fo-mu	= Mahāmāyūrī
203	Ta-han-lin fo-mu	= Śītavatī
204	Mi-chou-sui-ch'ih fo-mu	= Mantrānudhāraṇī
205	Sui-ch'iu fo-mu	= Pratisarā

Twentyone Tārās (B 206-227)

206	Ch'u-chu-wu-nan Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Khadiravaṇī-Tārā
207	Tsuṇ-chê su-yung Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Pravīra-Tārā
208	Ta-shan-ch'iu-yüeh Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Candrakānti?-Tārā
209	Ta-hui chin-sê Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Kanakavarṇa-Tārā

210	Kuan-ting-tsun-shêng Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Uṣṇīṣa-Tārā
211	Hsü-kung-hung-yin Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Hūṁsvaranādinī-Tārā
212	Nêng-shêng-san-chieh Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Vijayā-Tārā
213	Nêng-ts'ui-wu-ti Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Aparājitā-Tārā
214	Nêng-ts'ui-yüan-mo Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Mārasūdana-Tārā
215	Nieh-p'an-chi-mieh Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Śokavinodana-Tārā
216	Shê-fu-shih-chien Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Jagadvaśī?-Tārā
217	Nêng-shêng-chi-hsiang Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Maṅgalotpādana-Tārā
218	Ju-huo-ch'ih-ch'eng Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Pācaka-Tārā
219	P'in-mei wei-hsiang Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Kruddha-kālī-Tārā
220	Ta-jou-shan Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Mahāśānti-Tārā
221	Ming-chou-hung-shêng Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Rāganiṣūdana-Tārā
222	Tu-t'o-shuai-pai Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Sukhada-Tārā
223	Nêng-tung-san-chieh Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Sita-Vijayā-Tārā
224	Nêng-mieh-chu-k'u Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Duḥkhadahana-Tārā
225	Ch'êng-chiu-i-ch'ieh Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Siddhidā-Tārā
226	Chi-hsiang-yüan-man Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Paripūrṇa (or Pariniṣ-panna-) Tārā
227	Ch'u-chu-wu-tu Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Jāṅgulī-Tārā

Various goddesses (B 228-268)

228	Chin-kang-kung-shih Chiu-tu fo-mu	= [Vajra]pañjarabhāṣita Vajratārā
229	Chên-tan Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Cīnakrama Tārā
230	Ju-i-pao-lun pai Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Cintāmaṇicakra Sita Tārā
231	Ssŭ-pei ju-i-tzŭ-tsai Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Caturbhuja Cintāmaṇi-rājñī Tārā
232	Liu-pei pai-i Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Ṣaḍbhuja Sita Tārā
233	Pu-t'ien Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Dhanada Tārā
234	Ch'u-wu-ch'ü Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Durgottāriṇī Tārā
235	I-ch'ieh-ch'êng Chiu-tu fo-mu	= Sarvārthasādhana Tārā
236	Ta-shêng Ch'u-tu fo-mu	= Ārya-Jāṅgulī
237	Êrh-shih-ssŭ-pei I-chi fo-mu	= Caturviṁśatibhuja Ekajaṭā devī
238	Chu-hsiang fo-mu	= Viśvamātṛ

239	Êrh-pei I-chi fo-mu	= Ekajaṭā devī
240	Ssŭ-pei Chun-t'i fo-mu	= Caturbhuja Cundī devī
241	Kuang-pei Chun-t'i fo-mu	= Bahubhuja Cundī devī
242	Shih-pei Chi-kuang fo-mu	= Daśabhuja Mārīci
243	Pa-pei Chi-kuang fo-mu	= Aṣṭabhuja Mārīci
244	Êrh-pei Chi-kuang fo-mu	= Dvibhuja Mārīci
245	Pi-tsu Chi-kuang fo-mu	= Mārīci with jade girdle
246	Chin-kang-hsing-wang Chi-kuang fo-mu	= Vajradhātvīśvarī Mārīci
247	Tsun-shêng fo-mu	= Uṣṇīṣavijayā
248	Ta-shêng Pai-san-kai fo-mu	= Ārya-Sitātapatrā
249	Liu-pei Yeh-i fo-mu	= Ṣaḍbhuja Parṇaśabarī
250	Êrh-pei Yeh-i fo-mu	= Dvibhuja Parṇaśabarī
251	Êrh-pei Pan-jo fo-mu	= Dvibhuja Prajñāpāramitā
252	Ssŭ-pei Pan-jo fo-mu	= Caturbhuja Prajñāpāramitā
253	Liu-pei Chin-kang-miao-yin fo-mu	= Ṣaḍbhuja Vajrasarasvatī
254	Êrh-pei Chin-kang-miao-yin fo-mu	= Dvibhuja Vajrasarasvatī
255	Ch'ih-p'a Miao-yin fo-mu	= Vīṇā-Sarasvatī
256	P'in-mei fo-mu	= Bhṛkuṭī devī
257	Tsa-lieh-tzŭ-ka fo-mu	= Vajracarcikā
258	Êrh-pei Sui-ch'iu fo-mu	= Dvibhuja Pratisarā
259	Ta-hui fo-mu	= Mahāpratyaṅgirā
260	Ch'uang-ting-po-yen fo-mu	= Dhvajāgrakeyūrā
261	Wu-ti fo-mu	= Aparājitā
262	Chin-kang-kan-t'o-lo fo-mu	= VajraGāndhārī
263	Miao-fa-chin-kang fo-mu	= Dharmavajrī (NSP.44)
264	Chih-hsing-chin-kang fo-mu	= Karmavajrā (NSP.44)
265	Yung-shih-chin-kang fo-mu	= Sattvavajrā (NSP.44)
266	Ta-pao-chin-kang fo-mu	= Ratnavajrī (NSP.44)
267	Sha-lo-mên fo-mu	= Śramaṇā
268	Ch'ang-lu fo-mu	= Dhanadā
B has only three goddesses with the classifier *mu*		
269	Tou-mu	= Grahamātṛkā
270	Pai ming-hui Chin-kang-hai mu	= Prajñālokakṛtya Sita Vajravārāhī
271	I-ch'ieh-ch'êng-chiu chin-kang-hai mu	= Sarvārthasādhana Vārāhī

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A BALINESE DEPICTION OF THE SĪTĀ-HARAṆA EPISODE

(Dr. Mrs.) Sudarshana Devi Singhal

The Rāmāyaṇa has been represented in Indonesia in different modes: on palm-leaf manuscripts with illustrations and narrations, in sculptured reliefs and paintings, and in the performing arts and literature, both ancient and modern. Variations and additions are found everywhere.

When Indonesia organised the first International Ramayana Festival and Seminar in 1971, I had the opportunity of getting an illustrated palmleaf manuscript of the Sītā-haraṇa from Bali. In Javanese ballet, royal princesses still play the role of Sītā in superb grace and charm. Yet it is in the isle of Bali that Indonesia's Classical heritage flourishes in all its splendour. In popular village gatherings known as babahasaan the kakavins or ancient literary works in Kawi/Old Javanese are read and explained till today. The traditional way of inscribing a text and its illustrations on palm-leaves continues. In ancient manuscripts the lines were incised deeper and hence were sharper and more distinct. Their expression was vivid and realistic, lively and expressive. Here is reproduced a small palm-leaf manuscript as a specimen of contemporary folk art. It depicts Sītā-haraṇa. Sītā's infatuation for the golden deer results in her abduction by Rāvaṇa, and it brings about his end at the hands of Trivikrama Viṣṇu descended on earth as Rāma for the purpose of bringing happiness to the world, by destroying *rākṣasa krūra-karma* (RK.1.39)[1]. It plays a significant role in bringing about the annihilation of demons and their king who had overpowered even the gods (RK.5.88, 89).

The earliest representation of the episode at Prambanan is on four panels.[2] Rāma pursues the golden deer, while Sītā is guarded by Lakṣmaṇa. As Rāma shoots the enchanting animal, demon Mārīca comes out of the struck deer, and imitates the voice of Rāma. Sītā hears this. Immediately Rāvaṇa appears in the guise of a brāhmaṇa, and carries off Sītā. Javanese sculptors present the duel of Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu worsted in

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[1] *Indonesian Rāmāyaṇa.* The Rāmāyaṇa Kakwin, edited and translated by Soewito Santoso, 3 vols., published by the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi 1980, Śatapiṭaka series vols. 251-253.

[2] J. Kats, *Het Rāmāyaṇa op Javaansche tempel-reliefs*, pl.19-22, referred to by H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali*, Calcutta 1939, p.217.

fight. While Sītā is being carried off, she gives a ring to Jaṭāyu. The dying Jaṭāyu gives the ring to Rāma.

The Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin details the episode in 87 verses (5.38-6.31). Mārīca changed himself into a golden deer and arrived in the Daṇḍaka forest together with Rāvaṇa (5.39). The *marakata-varṇṇa* deer came where Janakarājasutā was resting. She became excited and asked Rāma to obtain the golden deer for her. Raghusuta pursued the deer but could not catch it as it lept round and round. It stopped intentionally for a while, but as soon as Rāma tried to seize it, it slipped away (5.43). Thus he went further and further away chasing the deer and still could not capture it. He drew his bow and shot an arrow. Its ribs were ripped. In the last moments of his life he cried out to delude. Janakasutā became upset and asked Lakṣmaṇa to go and help his brother. Lakṣmaṇa tried to convince her that no one could harm Lord Rāma. But love and fear took hold of her. She told Lakṣmaṇa (5.55) to be faithful to his brother... ... ... Daśānana came in the guise of a hermit as a pure and holy Śaiva sage muttering mantras. Daśamukha happily approached her and prasied her lavishly (5.69-89). He proposed to her to become the queen of the most powerful king Rāvaṇa. Sītā was unresponsive. Angered Daśāsya stepped forward swiftly, grabbed her and flew away into the sky (6.5). Now Janakasutā wept in despair.

By chance Jaṭāyu heard her cries and saw Daśānana. He chased Rāvaṇa and attacked him fiercely like a lion. He came nearer and used his beak, sharp as a vajra, as his weapon. Daśānana quickly drew out his sword. Jaṭāyu swooped down, hit his face forcefully, then withdrew, cautiously evading the sword coming in a flash. He pecked and pecked until the shoulder of Rāvaṇa was torn to pieces. Daśavaktra was in trouble. He was handicapped as his chariot carrying Maithilī was grounded. On his signal the driver took up the chariot into the air, while Rāvaṇa sat in it. But the wagon was smashed by Jaṭāyu. Now Sītā fell, but Jaṭāyu caught the falling Maithilī in the air. Rāvaṇa chased Jaṭāyu everywhere. Jaṭāyu held Sītā tight but could not fly fast, though he exerted himself. Daśānana suddenly attacked Jaṭāyu with his sword candrahāsa. His wing was severed, and he fell down (6.26). Daśavadana caught Janakasutā who was in a deep swoon. Rāvaṇa returned with her to Laṅkā (6.27).

Seven modern palm-leaves are transcribed and translated below. They bear illustrations on one side and narrative hints on the reverse. The palm-leaves measure 23 × 3.5cm. The two wooden covers on both sides are made by splitting a round piece of bamboo into two. A thread passes through the middle of palm-leaves and wooden covers to bind the manuscript. The thread on both ends is tied to coins: one has the Chinese

characters Kuang Hsu (1875) and the other has Ch'ien Lung (1736). The narrative pages have three lines in modern Balinese in the Balinese script.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

[folio 1] *Caritayaṅ ne mańkin. Hida saṅ Rāmadeva, luṅa masusupan riṅ halas nandaka (*RK. 5.38 daṇḍaka*) ne, kahiriṅ hantuk hida saṅ Lakṣmaṇa. kaliḥ hida devī Sītā. kagna hirika rahuḥ kidaṅ ṅrěrěh hida devī Sītā. Mavastu matur devī Sītā, ri saṅ Rāmadeva. Mavanan--*

Here begins the narration. Lord Rāmadeva went deep into the forest Nandaka, followed by Lakṣmaṇa together with devī Sītā. Once there appeared a deer. [Intentionally] he came closer to devī Sītā. Consequently devī Sītā requested Rāmadeva [for the deer]. That is why [he went after it].

[folio 2] *Riṅ sāmpune sve kidaṅ punika duruṅ kakraṅ hantuk hida saṅ Rāmadeva. Tandumade hirika, katrayaniṅ hipun hi kidaṅ hantuk hida saṅ Rāma. Mavastu ṅetel lambuṅ hi kidaṅe, ri hantuk trayaṅ hida ne saṅ Rāmadeva. Mavanan kapirěṅ riṅ devī Sītā, hi kadaṅ ñrit.*

Now it happened that for a long time the deer could not be overpowered by Rāmadeva. After some time Rāma shot the deer with an arrow. Rāmadeva's arrow pierced into the side of the deer [who cried in pain]. And this is how the cry of deer was heard by devī Sītā.

[folio 3] *Ne mańkin hida saṅ Rāmadeva maraniṅ kidaṅ pva nika. Mavastu mańgih kidaṅ punika. kalrěh irika. raris kadakěp hantuk hida saṅ Rāmadeva. Tandumade hirika makěcos hi kidaṅ, ṅraris ṅadohan, sakiṅ gnah ñane.*

Now Rāmadeva came nearer the deer. As he came closer to the deer, immediately Rāmadeva tried to catch it. But the deer jumped away quick and soon was far away from that place.

[folio 4] *Hirika raris kapirěṅ jritan ñane ri kidaṅ, kasinah haṅ hida saṅ Rāmadeva tuluṅ-tuluṅ. Tandumade kadi kanikan hida saṅ Lakṣmaṇa, mańdaka hida saṅ Rāmadeva. Sivatiṅ ne. boya hida saṅ Rāma, ñrit. Talěr kanikavaṅ, mańda mamargi. Napikahun hida saṅ Lakṣmaṇa mamargi.*

And then soon the words "help, help" uttered by the deer definitely in Rāma's (voice) were heard. Immediately [Sītā] asked Lakṣmaṇa to find out Rāmadeva. [Lakṣmaṇa said:] in fact it cannot be Rāma's cry. She insisted that he go. Lakṣmaṇa refused to go.

[folio 5] *Ri kalĕma kahon hida saṅ Lakṣmaṇa, mandak hida saṅ Rāma. Tandumade rahuh hajaḥhan dane saṅ Rāvaṇa, ṅrarĕh hida devī Sītā. Kalĕh irika kĕlĕmĕsin devī Sītā hantuk dene. Tumuli kasahup kapla-hibaṅ kahuṅgahaṅ ri vimānan ñāne, saṅ Rāvaṇa.*

Lakṣmaṇa was persuaded against his wishes to go and find out Rāma. Without loosing time, Rāvaṇa entered and approached devī Sītā. Then he tried to woe devī Sītā. Suddenly Rāvaṇa grabbed her, took her aside and pushed her into his vimāna.

[folio 6] *Riṅ sampune kaḍra, kapla-hibaṅ hidaṅ devī Sītā, tandumade kaciṅak hantuk dane saṅ Jaṭāyu. Mavastu hirika kakĕbarin (ms.-burin) hantuk dane saṅ Jaṭāyu. Mavanan mayuda, dane maguluṅan riṅ hambara ne. Saliṅ pacok saliṅ sĕmpal.*

When devī Sītā was being taken away, she was seen by Jaṭāyu. The result was: Jaṭāyu assured her, and flew away with her on his back. Consequently there was a fight. They rolled on fighting in the sky. They attacked each other, one with his piercing beak and the other with his sword.

[folio 7] *Ṅraris irika kapandak hida saṅ Rāma, hantuk hida saṅ Lakṣmaṇa. Mavan kapaṅgih hin hida saṅ Rāmadeva. Mavastu hniṅ rika matur hida saṅ Lakṣmaṇa, riṅ hida saṅ Rāmadeva. Tandumade, hirika ṅraris mamargi hida saṅ Rāmadeva, maṅulan.*

Soon Lakṣmaṇa reached Rāma. As soon as Lakṣmaṇa met Rāmadeva he clearly explained [the situation] to Rāmadeva. Rāmadeva rushed straight [to the hermitage].

THE ORIENTAL ROOTS OF SOVIET ROD-PUPPETS

Inna Solomonik, Moscow

The rod-puppet is firmly established in the Soviet puppet theatres. Its direct predecessors appeared in our country for the first time early in the 1920s in the theatre run by artists Nina (Simonovich-Yefimova) and Ivan Yefimov. Above the screen of their theatre the fable-writer Krylov "leaned" on a stick, and the witch Baba-Yaga "flew" on her broom. These puppets' heads were supported on actors' fingers, as was the case with the Russian traditional glove-puppet theatre hero Petroushka, and the gesture was conveyed by means of a stick or a broom which served as rods. But soon (1930) the Yefimovs mounted scenes from Shakespeare's "Macbeth", in which the characters gesticulated freely using both hands.

In 1939 the rod was taken up by the State Central Puppet Theatre which hitherto had followed the technique of Russian folk puppeteers, i.e. with glove-puppets and string-puppets (a string-puppet group worked in the theatre from 1934 to 1939). In "Travels to Strange Countries"[1] alongside the glove-puppets there appeared the first characters whose gestures were articulated with the help of the rod. Nina Yefimova was the consultant who helped in puppet making. The puppets which appeared in the "Travels", like the characters in "Macbeth", had both hands manipulated by rods. The rods were fastened to the elbow joints, just as in "Macbeth", and were masked either with a cloak or a piece of the cloth which was used for the puppet's costume. But unlike the Yefimov puppets they had a third rod which manipulated the head.

The introduction of the rod enabled the puppeteers to use highly varied and expressive gestures, and opened up great possibilities for experiment and broadening the framework of dramaturgy. During the next year, 1940, "Aladdin and His Magic Lamp"[2] was added to the repertoire of the Central Puppet Theatre, a production based on the rod system, highly perfected and improved. The puppets in "Aladdin" had rods not at the elbow but at the wrist, and that made the gestures more flexible and expressive. The

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[1] A play by V. Polyakov, scenery by B.Tuzlukov, puppets by V. Terekhova, directors: S.Obraztsov and S.Preobrazhensky.

[2] A play by N.Gernet, scenery and puppets by B.Tuzlukov, directors: S.Obraztsov and O. Ushakova.

production's great success in fact determined the future of the Central Puppet Theatre: from now on the adult theatre-goer was attracted, and the rod became the basic instrument of puppet manipulation. Under the influence of the Central Puppet Theatre the rod was adopted by other Soviet puppet theatres and later, in the post-war years, by the puppeteers of other European countries. In its further development the rod gradually lost all disguise, all attempts to mask or hide it, and more often was now used openly.

Among Soviet puppeteers an opinion was formed that the idea of puppet manipulation with the help of a rod originated in the Yefimov theatre. For a long time they knew nothing about old traditions of rod-puppet performances in China, India, Indonesia and in some other Asian countries. And if one studies carefully the history of the puppet theatre, one will be able to follow the path of the ancient oriental rod-puppet to the modern theatre.

The oriental puppets based on the rod system seem to have reached Europe as early as the 18-19 centuries. The puppets from Java, "wayang", made of parchment or of wood, were most common among them. They attracted travellers and collectors with their delicate and minute carving, and scholars were attracted to them by the exceptional role the theatre played in Javanese society. The wayangs had three rods: the one which ran through the body of the puppet and two others, attached to the hands of the figure. The long arms of the wayangs, with hinges at the shoulder and the elbow, made their gestures very beautiful and expressive. Most Europeans who visited exotic Java took back with them these puppets, possessing "exotic, mysterious beauty" in the words of Nina Yefimova[3]. By the end of the nineteenth century a considerable number of private collections of these figures were in Europe, some museums conserved them. There were extensive collections of wayangs in Holland, England and Germany. Collections of "wayangs" found their way to Russia too. As early as 1868 the Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow acquired over a hundred such figures; and small parties of wayangs found their way to the present-day Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad in 1885, 1894, and 1910. Yulia Slonimskaya, a Petersburg art historian who worked for the art magazine "Apollo", possessed a collection of Javanese puppets, as did some collecters in Moscow, and Nina Yefimova mentions in her book that she saw in a private house an ancient puppet "of this very system."[4] Among the intellectual, especially artistic, circles of Europe the Javanese puppets were well known; much was written about them (see the

[3]Simonovich-Efimova N. Ya., *Zapiski petrushechnika*, M.-L.1925, p.100. (Transl. into English: Efimova N., Adventures of a Russian Puppet Theatre, Michigan 1935)

[4]Ibid.

articles and descriptions by leading figures in the English and German theatres, G. Craig and C. Hagemann, by the Russian diplomat M. Bakunin, by Prof. V.Arnoldy of the Kharkov University, and others)[5]. Frequently puppet theatres were set up by these artistic circles, and puppet productions were mounted. At one such theatre, founded by Richard Teschner, an Austrian artist, a production was mounted in 1912 for which puppets were made after the Javanese wayang golek figures.

In 1911 Teschner visited Holland. In some museums he saw Javanese puppets—collections of the wayangs in this country are among the most numerous, and they are first class. These puppets left such a deep impression on Teschner, that after his return to his own country he staged a production styled to resemble the Javanese theatre, using the plot of a traditional Javanese play and constructing puppets manipulated by three rods. But neither this production nor Teschner's subsequent activities exerted a noticeable influence on the general progress of the European puppet theatre as far as the technique of puppet manipulation was concerned. Teschner had no followers. His rod-puppets were the result of a direct, purely formal borrowing, a precise imitation of the Javanese puppets, and they did not take in Europe. For the next two decades or so the European puppet theatre followed its own traditional principles of puppet manipulation, until the Yefimov theatre appeared.

The Yefimovs began working with glove-puppets, made after the puppets used by Russian Petroushka folk puppeteers. They had not heard about Teschner, and they were unaware of the Javanese puppets. As long as they dealt with traditional Petroushka and his similarly traditional partners there was no need for changes in the technique of puppet manipulation or in the puppets themselves. But pretty soon the Yefimovs enlarged their repertoire, adding Russian folk themes, Krylov's fables and modern sketches. At once they saw that their glove-puppets were limited to the traditional comedy: beyond the framework of slapstick they looked expressionless and their technical possibilities were few. "All they are fit for is to hold a stick under the arm and rain blows with it", wrote Nina Yefimova in disappointment[6]. How could they depict the fairy tale Baba-Yaga, convey the images of the Crane or the Wolf from the fables, how make the figure of Grand-Dad Krylov, the fabulist, not comic but imposing? If you take into account that Ivan Yefimov was a sculptor-animalist and Nina Yefimova a good portrait painter then

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[5]Craig G., Javanese Marionettes or Wayang Figures -- Mask, 1913, Nr.6; Hagemann C., Spiele der Völker, Berlin, 1921; Bakunin M., *Tropicheskaya Gollandiya*, St. Petersbourg 1902, p.80-86; Arnoldi V., *Po ostrovam malayskogo arkhipelaga*, Moscow 1911, p.59.

[6]Simonovich-Efimova 1925:106.

it could be easily imagined that they strove to portray their personages in a most realistic manner, and make the proportions of the puppets close to the natural form of people and animals. Glove-puppets were no good for that. And so, early in the 1920s, the Yefimovs thought of a method which brought them close to the theatre of the rod-puppet; the Yefimovs withdrew their fingers from the hands of the glove-puppet, and lengthened the arms of their characters to coincide with the natural proportions of a human being. To prevent these dummies looking lifeless they were attached to some object, the lower end of which hung below the screen and enabled the puppeteers to manipulate the puppet's arm. This was the way Grand-Dad Krylov walked about, leaning on a stick (his second arm was permanently attached—sewn—to his surtout); this was the way Baba-Yaga flew, holding her broom in both hands. These were not rod-puppets in the full meaning of the word (their heads were still supported on the puppeteers' finger, their gestures were limited by the narrow purpose of the object the puppet was holding, and the rod had not yet become a purely technical element). But the principle of rod manipulation had been "discovered". So when the Yefimovs came across Javanese figures, the encounter left a no less powerful impression on them than on Teschner. "I saw an ancient puppet of just this system, only the sticks manipulating the hands were not masked, presumably because it was necessary for the story. Apparantly, it is a Javanese puppet made of gilded wood and with an impressive, mysterious beauty—no, more than that—power—at once sharply contrasted to the character of our puppets"[7], wrote Nina Yefimova in 1925, comparing a Javanese puppet (wayang golek) with the Grand-Dad Krylov and Baba-Yaga puppets. The Yefimovs mastered the oriental technique right away. The next year, 1926, their theatre had its first characters of the future production of "Macbeth"— Macbeth, Lady Macbeth and Macduff—the first true rod-puppets[8].

In this way, though the rod was to a certain degree a spontaneous phenomenon in the Yefimov theatre, one cannot deny the influence of oriental puppets on their work—it is clearly proved by a chronological comparison of facts in their history. However, in contrast to Teschner's, the Yefimovs' rod-puppets were not a direct transplantation of the oriental technique. Such a claim would be a crude simplification. The rod-puppets which appeared in "Macbeth" are a result of a complex synthesis of the Yefimovs' own experience and of the deep impressions left by the oriental "wayangs". If the Yefimovs

[7]Simonovich-Efimova 1925:100.

[8]Yefimov A. I., Macbeth in Yefimovs' Puppet Theatre (a paper), Moscow 1964, p.3 (English-language typescript in the archives of the Central Puppet Theatre, Moscow).

had not invented their Grand-Dad Krylov and Baba-Yaga prior to their encounter with the Javanese puppets, the oriental technique of manipulation very possibly would not have found any application in their puppets. The mastering of the oriental rod in this case was not a mechanical copying, but a creative process, one of the characteristic features of which was the selective interest in the borrowed material, and its reinterpretation (re-working). This can by seen in a number of specific features in which the Yefimovs' puppets differ from the oriental ones. Firstly, the Yefimovs did not have a third rod for head manipulation—the head of the puppet remained attached to the finger of the puppeteer. And secondly, brought up on the European traditions of the puppet theatre, in which the actor and the technique of puppet manipulation are hidden from the audience, they did not accept the openly exposed rods of the Javanese puppets. Nina Yefimova was so unprepared for the oriental method of puppet manipulation that she attempted to explain the undisguised presence of the rods "because it was necessary for the story". Manipulating their puppets, the Yefimovs hid the rods carefully in the folds of the costume of their characters, and to mask the technique of manipulation they shifted the rods from the hands, where they are fixed on the Javanese puppet, to the elbow joint. In this way the gestures of the Yefimovs' puppets lost some of the flexibility which is characteristic of arms of wayangs but the rod was well (safely, reliably) hidden from the audience.

The Yefimovs' "Macbeth" left a deep impression on the Soviet puppeteers. The first USSR conference of Soviet puppet theatres was held in Moscow in 1930. Nina Yefimova read a paper on the rod-puppet. The audience was shown a few scenes from "Macbeth". The new people who had joined the young Soviet puppet theatre and were not bound by traditional rules and customs, the new repertoire which they had to create—all this proved to be good soil on which the technique of the rod-puppet thrived. Under the influence of the Yefimovs a number of Soviet puppet theatres tried their hand at the new techniques (N.Bezzoubtsev in the Voronezh puppet theatre, S. Malinovskaya in the Red Petroushka Theatre in Moscow, and a few others).

The rod-puppet of the Yefimov construction, as has already been mentioned, was adopted by the State Central Puppet Theatre. Here it experienced what can be called a second wave of oriental influence. A big role was played by A. Fedotov, museum director of the Central Puppet Theatre, who paid great attention to the history and especially to puppet techniques. The article by L.Mervart the "Malay Theatre" (appeared in

1929) also played a great role[9]. In the theatre workshops the Yefimov puppets acquired a third rod to manipulate the head (the Javanese term *gapit* was taken over for it and it has remained in the terminology of Soviet puppeteers till the present day), and the two other rods were from now on attached to the hands of the puppet, a move that restored the wide gesture of its Javanese predecessors.

This was the path that led the ancient oriental rod-puppet to the modern theatre.

[9]Mervart L.A., *Malayski teatr*, Vostochny teatr, Leningrad 1929.

TRIBUTES

Hundreds of condolence letters poured in from ministers, Members of Parliament, relations, scholars, journalists, business magnates, poets, novelists, jurists, institutions, and friends. A few of them are reproduced in the following pages.

I have learnt with great sadness of the passing away of your wife. Kindly accept my heartfelt condolences. I pray God to grant peace to the departed soul and give strength to all of you to bear the loss.

H. E. Mr. R. Venkataraman, President of the Republic of India

आपकी धर्मपत्नी के आकस्मिक निधन की सूचना पाकर बहुत दुःख हुआ। मै ईश्वर से विनति करता हूं कि वह आपको एंव समस्त परिजनों को यह दुःख सहन करने की शक्ति दें तथा दिवंगत आत्मा को चिर शांति प्रदान करें। कृपया मेरी समवेदनाएं स्वीकार करें।

डॉ. शंकर दयाल शर्मा, उपराष्ट्रपति

I am deeply grieved to learn of the sudden demise of your wife. My sincerest sympathy and heartfelt condolences to you and other members of the family.

Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Prime Minister of India

I am deeply grieved to learn about the passing away of your wife. She was a person of unusual qualities and distinction. Please accept my heartfelt condolences in this tragic hour.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India

श्रीमती डॉ शारदारानी के आकस्मिक निधन का समाचार पढकर बहुत दुःख हुआ। मैं आपके परिवार के दुःख में सहभागी हूं। ईश्वर मृतात्मा को सद्गति दें।

श्री पी.वी.नरसिंह राव, भूतपूर्व विदेश-मन्त्री

Both my wife and I am grieved to learn of your sad bereavement. I can well imagine the void she has left in your life. We pray to Almighty for granting you solace and courage to bear this irreparable loss.

Mr. I. K. Gujral, Minister of External Affairs of India

I was grieved to hear of your wife's death, and was deeply moved by your tribute to her. You both lived a life of achievement and fulfilment. I can imagine your sense of loss. Do accept my condolences, and look after yourself.

Mr. George Fernandes, Minister for Railways, India

I am deeply grieved to hear of the sad passing away of your wife Dr. (Mrs.) Sharada Raniji. Please accept heartfelt condolences from my wife and myself on your bereavement. I know that nothing that I can say at this stage will assuage your feeling of terrible loss and loneliness. Only time, and strength given by God, can be the true healer, when what will remain with you are the happiest memories of a shared life.

Dr. M.G.K. Menon, Minister of State for Science and Technology

I have just seen your letter of 1st February 1990 and am deeply shocked at the passing away of your wife Dr. Sharada Rani. My wife joins me in sending you our deepest sympathy at this tragic bereavement. We knew that she was unwell, but had no idea that the end was so near.

H.E. Dr. Karan Singh, Ambassador of India, Washington

My wife and I are deeply grieved to hear about the sad demise of your wife on January 20, 1990. Kindly accept our condolences and also from the staff of the National Museum on this tragic occasion.

Dr. L. P. Sihare, Director General, National Museum, New Delhi

My wife and I share your grief and present our heartfelt condolences. With your beautiful words about Dr. Sharada Rani you have brought her much closer to us.

H.E. Mr. Christoph Carnaro, Ambassador of Austria, New Delhi

You have lost a life companion and we have all lost in Dr. Mrs. Sharada Rani a noble woman who has made a lasting contribution to scholarship and to the lives of all who knew her.

P. J. Fowler, British High Commission, New Delhi

As reflected in your obituary letter, late Smt. Rani was truly a dedicated and learned Buddhist scholar of her time. With her demise, our Buddhist culture will miss a scholar to propagate and enlighten its admirers and followers. May the Enlightened One give you strength to bear this irreparable loss and peace to the departed soul.

H.E. Karma Dorjee, Ambassador, Royal Bhutanese Embassy

She was a lady of great distinction, who for all her qualities will be sadly missed. May we extend our very great and sincere condolences to you on this sad and untimely loss.

Mr. Robert Arbuthnott, Minister (Cultural Afffairs); British High Commission, New Delhi

Please accept, on behalf of my wife and on my own behalf, our heartfelt condolences and sympathies.

H.E. Alexander Tonev, Ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

On this sad occasion and hour of your loneliness, we wish to share your grief which is not only your personal loss. No doubt, she was your true companion in all your endeavours.

Her intellectual contribution together with you to renew and refresh cultural ties among Asian friendly nations, endeared her beyond the shores of India. She will be remembered in several Asian countries for her noble work in the cultural field.

We hope she will continue to inspire you to build more cultural bridges among nations in future in the interest of universal peace.

On my own behalf and on behalf of all my colleagues in the Embassy of the State of Cambodia, please accept our sincere condolences. We extend to you our heartfelt sympathies and assure you of our cooperation in your noble work of promoting Indo-Cambodian friendship.

H.E. Sok Sath, Ambassador of Cambodia, New Delhi.

Learning of the sad news of the untimely passing away of your wife Dr. Mrs. Sharada Rani, I wish to express with grief, on behalf of my wife and in my own name, our deep condolences to you. I sincerely wish you good health.

H.E. Mr. Tu Guowei, Ambassador of China, New Delhi

May her soul rest in peace and may God give you the courage to bear this irretrievable loss.

Dr. Vincent Grimaud, Counsellor for Cultural, Scientific and Technical Co-operation, Embassy of France, New Delhi

I wish to express to you my heartfelt condolences and share your grief. From your moving obituary I learnt the full extent of her scholarly achievements and her important contributions and publications. I can fully understand how difficult it will be to live with this loss and very much feel with you.

Dr. C. Niemöller, Embassy of Germany, New Delhi

With all the loving care showered on her by yourself and the immediate family, we felt that she was improving and leading a fairly active life. Now that she has been taken away from you, we realise how close she was to fulfilling her earthly path and entering the realm of the Gods. I remember that when I came to India in 1953 you just got married. Ever since you have not only shared with Sharada Rani your eventful life but also your scholarly interests which, jointly and individually, have yielded so many important works in the field of Indian Studies in the widest sense of the word. In all your grief there are so many things to be grateful for; you have mentioned them in the recollections dedicated to your wife. And there is the awareness that the spiritual bonds to a beloved one do not cease with the end of the earthly existence; they rather intensify and deepen.

We cherish precious memories of the many occasions when we had the privilege of meeting your wife and having her with us at social and scholarly gatherings at our home.

Mr. Rajbans Bahadur, Magdalene Duckwitz.

Permit me, please, to express my profound sympathy to you and your bereaved family. I may assure you that in these tragic hours my thoughts and wishes are with you.

H.E. Mr. W. Grabowski, Ambassador of the German Democratic Republic, New Delhi.

Let me express my deepest grief and sorrow on the passing away of your wife, Dr. Mrs. Sharada Rani, the eminent scholar and orientalist. She has been a widely respected personality among the friends of India in Hungary, who, along with you, has made a valuable contribution to the strengthening of the friendly ties between our countries. With her demise all of us lost a true and reliable friend. The whole Hungarian community in India shares your grief.

H.E. Dr. András Balogh, Ambassador of the Republic of Hungary, New Delhi.

I was deeply sorry to learn of the passing of your beloved wife. Please accept my very sincere condolences on your great loss.

H.E. Mr. R. Paulucci di Calboli, Ambassador of Italy, New Delhi.

I express my sincere condolences to you at this time of your irreparable loss. Besides being a renowned scholar and the author of many books Dr. Sharada Devi was also a great friend of Nepal. May her soul rest in peace.

H.E. Mrs. Binda S. Shah, Ambassador of Nepal, New Delhi.

My wife and I are deeply grieved to learn of the passing away of your wife. May her soul lie in rest.

Mr. S. Shafqat Kakakhel, Minister, High Commission for Pakistan, New Delhi.

Please accept my deepest sympathies on the death of your wife, Dr. (Mrs.) Sharada Rani. It is clear from your touching letter that, while you have lost a beloved wife, India must also mourn the loss of an important scholar. My thoughts, and the thoughts of many others, are with you in your time of grief.

H.E. Mr. William Clark, Jr., Ambassador of the United States of America, New Delhi.

Please accept my feelings of sympathy on the passing away of your beloved spouse, Dr. Sharada Rani. May your remembrance of her lessen your grief and give you the strength you need to fill your heart with light. And may her highly interesting academic studies inspire those who have been working on classical Indonesian culture.

Dr. Els Bogaerts, Leiden, Netherlands.

I was deeply saddened and grieved to learn of the passing away of your beloved, noble and devoted wife. She was truly a life-partner, who shared everything with you: joys and sorrows, struggles and rewards, family and friends, body and soul, leisure and toil, interests and hobbies and, not least, love of the motherland and its glorious heritage which she enriched and illuminated with her scholarship. The loss of one's life-partner is irreplaceable. The void thus created can never be filled. And yet, one has to bow before the will of Providence and accept it with courage and fortitude, to the extent possible. The legacy of a good and purposeful life and the rich treasury of memories left behind by your beloved wife will no doubt be a source of solace and strength especially to you but also to all those who were near and dear to her.

Dr. Ashok K. Chauhan, Frankfurt, Germany

For both of us dying and death does not mean breaking off the relationship to the one we love but in a certain way it reveals the relationship. I am mourning with you and at the same time I am grateful for the perception into the eternal light of this woman whom you love so much. I was deeply touched by your enclosed letter about this mystery.

Prof. Dr. Hans A. Fischer-Barnicol, Heidelberg, Germany

The grief is ours, we very much feel with you. At the same time we understand that there are no words of solace when Yama has spoken. We, the onces that stay a little while longer here, really cannot comprehend the game that is called God's game. We quite well remember the meetings we had together and the interesting exchange of thoughts this we will keep in mind. During our next Bhajan session here we will pray to Baba that he graciously will take care of the soul that was ordered to return to His lap.

Richard & Anita Friedrich, Wien, Austria

These evil tidings gave me a great shock, the more so as I myself lost my wife also, few months ago; she had suffered from cancer. I perfectly realise the extent of your great loss, your sadness, grief and solitude.

Prof. Dr. J. Gonda, University of Utrecht, Netherlands

Your letter announcing the death of your beloved wife has caused great grief with me. I know about your wife and her work through my Guru Professor Hooykaas, and of course I have her Ślokāntara and Wratiśāsana.

Dr. H.I.R. Hinzler, University of Leiden

I am very sorry and feel deep compassion with you. Let her soul go to DIVINE LOKA.

Mrs. Milena Hübschmannova, Prague, Czechoslovakia

In all your great sorrow, believe that your many freinds are holding you in their thoughts and prayers.

Dr. Josef Kolmaš, Oriental Institute, Prague, Czechoslovakia

Words seem so futile at such a time: yet the sympathy of good friends may help just a little to give you strength and courage.

Reverend S. Kono, Abbot, Daianji Temple, Japan

Allow me to offer you, my most heartfelt condolences and assure you that I will be there in spirit to pay my last respects to your dear departed wife.

Dr. Tsugunari Kubo, President, Reiyukai, Tokyo, Japan

The untimely death of Dr. Sharada Rani is a great loss not only for her family but also for her colleagues all over the world. It will be an honour for me to participate in the Commemoration Volume.

Dr. Sergei Kullanda, Institute of Orientology, Moscow, USSR

Please accept my deepfelt condolences for the loss of your wife. Her death is not only a great loss for you personally, it also ends a remarkable career of scholarly endeavors which have kept alive for us the cultural legacy of India and Asia in a manner which joined the skills of the scholar and the poet. This is indeed a sad occasion and one where words are only very imperfect vehicles to express my feelings of shared sorrow. Your funerary address is a most moving testimony to the times and the work you shared. Her work will remain a lasting monument of the time we all were privileged to share with her. May the memories of these years give you the strength to carry on sharing with us the light which has chosen to reveal itself to us in such rich measure in India. Such revelations are brief; it is their ephemeral nature which makes them the more poignant. This is one truth which comes to us most clearly in moments of greatest grief.

Prof. Ulrich Mammitzsch, Western Washington University, Bellingham, U.S.A.

Please accept our condolences and be sure that our feelings are with you at this time of great sadness.

Mr. Tadashi Masunaga and Mme. Sadako Masunaga, The Reiyukai 8th Branch, Osaka, Japan

I am reminded of her on so many things. Like a floating lamp so many scenes of her company and kindnesses capture my mind.

Prof. Hajime Nakamura, Tokyo, Japan

This is to offer you may sincere condolence with the demise of your wife Dr. Sharada Rani. Though I never met her, I of course know of her work as that of a prominent researcher of Indonesian, especially Old Javanese, literature and culture. It is very sad to know that no further contribution from her hand will appear.

Dr. J. Noorduyn, KITLV, Leiden, Netherlands

Now the more I am grateful that once during my stay with your family I asked her to chant for me certain mantras, among them the Mahāmṛtyuñjaya Mantra. Based on this tape-recording our Ashram now know how to chant the above mantra, which we require to know for certain occasions such as birthdays, leave-taking etc. Therefore in a manner, she is also enshrined in our memory, for whenever we chant this particular mantra automatically I will remember her. On the other hand I am happy for her that she is now relieved from her mortal suffering, for I could perceive that her last years in the world were just plain agony due to her severe illness. And yet I never heard her complain. I only had to look at her eyes to know how deeply she suffered physically. Well this suffering is past!

Mrs. Gedong Bagoes Oka, Ashram Shanti Dasa, Bali

शारदा जीजी को श्रद्धाजंलि

*या कुन्देन्दु-तुषार-हार-धवला ---
जीजी तुम सरस्वती रूप, बुद्धिमान, सजग, कुशाग्र
सौम्य, लेखक, विद्वान्, संगीत सितार में प्रवीण
भव्य, तेजोमय, सहज, सरल, मधुर व्यक्तित्व ---
*शिव-शीस सोहत गंगा ---

*कनक मुंदरवा गद दे रे ---
विद्वत्ता, ज्ञान, मानवता, संस्कृति का अद्भुत समन्वय, सामंजस्य
माता-पिता, बहिन-भाई स्वजन को प्यार स्नेह
गृहकार्य में निपुण, गाने का शौक, खाने-खिलाने का शौक
सबसे आगे, सबकी मुखिया, जिन्दादिल, क्षमाशील ---
*प्रदीप जलाओ मंगल गाओ ---

*हरवा फुलवन गुंधवा लाओ री ---
पतिव्रता पत्नी, आर्यपुत्र कहते थकती नही, पति की प्रेरणा
समय पर कन्धे से कन्धे मिला कर चलना, कार्यालय में
विदेश में, स्वदेश में, सेमिनार में, मीटिंग में
गृह में स्वयं भोजन बनाना, परोसना, बैठ कर खिलाना ---
*आवत है अलबेला ---

*कान्हा रे ए नन्दनन्दन ---
मां की ममता कर्तव्य भान, सफलता का उच्च शिखर
उमा का वात्सल्य, यशोदा मां का प्रेम-लाड
पुत्र को सांसारिक ज्ञान, विद्या-संस्कार का बोध कराना
उसका सर्वमुखी प्रतिभावान् व्यक्तित्व विकसित करना ---
*अब हूँ लालन मैं का रे ---

*जय जय शिव शंभु गिरिजापति ---
दूर दूर कहीं देवताओं के देश को, मानविक कष्टों से दूर
बसी मन में, प्रतिभाशाली मधुरभाषिणी, हंसमुख, प्रफुल्लचित्त
बहिन मेरी, ध्वनि-मधुर, प्रतिध्वनित हो रही तुम्हारी
*चली मोरी नाव --- हे रामा ---

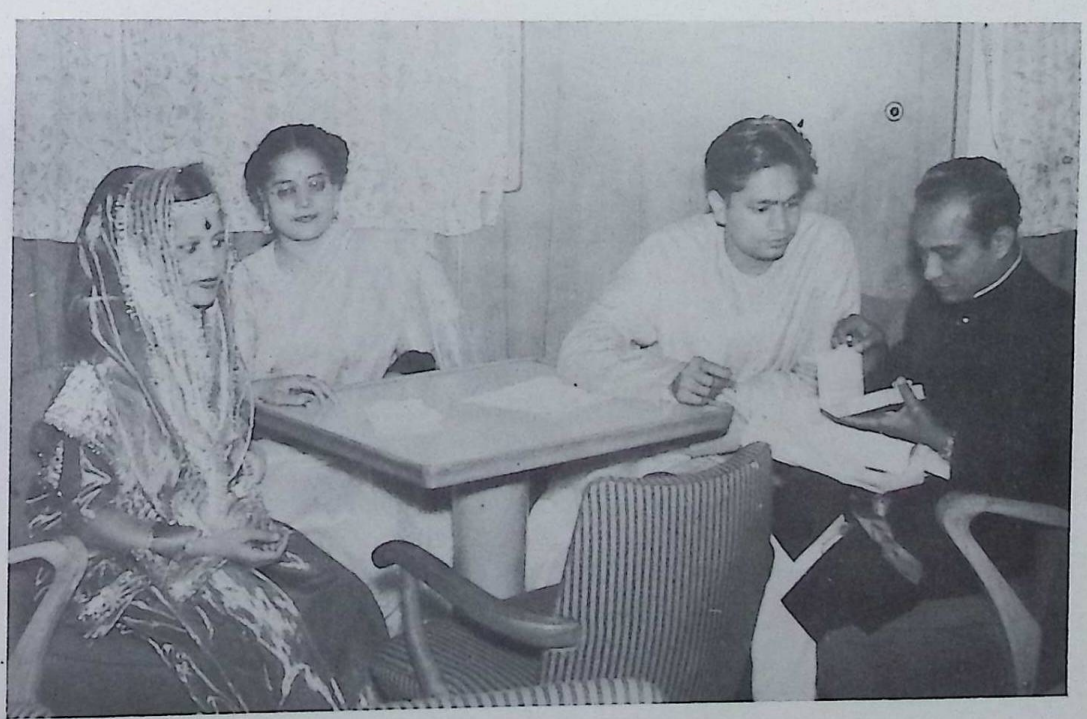
स्मृतियों की मधुर विरासत संजोए कुमुद
२६.६.१९९०

*जीजी द्वारा गाये गीत

1. Sharada Rani with her parents in 1945.
Sharada Rani Father Kailash Bahadur Narayan Prakash
Shakuntala Basant Prakash Shiva Prakash Mother Vidyavati Ishwar Prakash

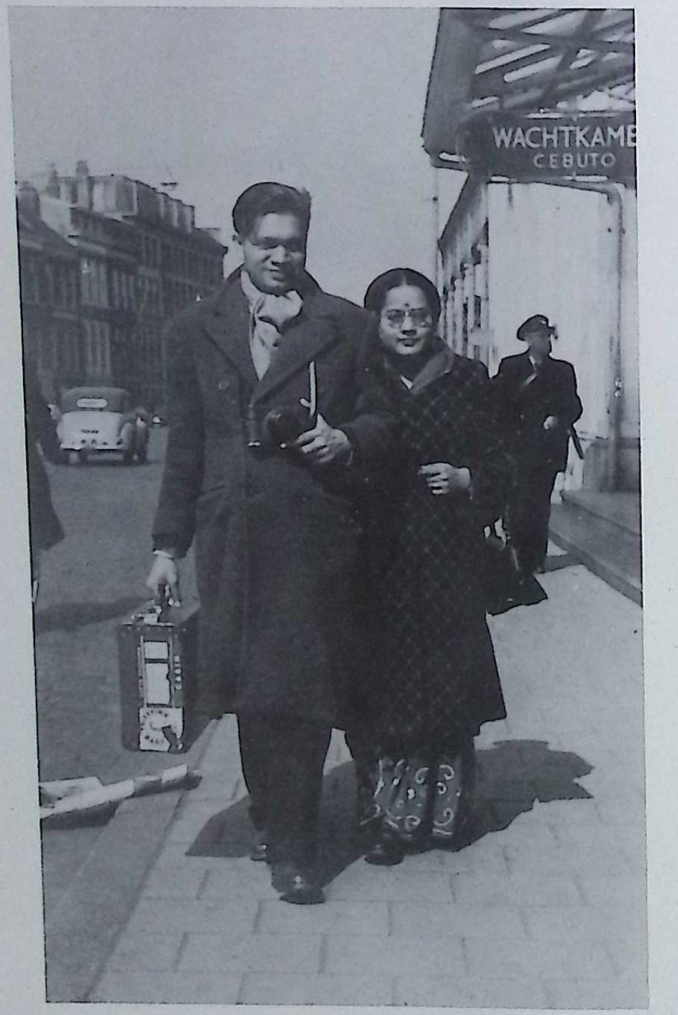
2. Sharada Rani before marriage. February 1953.

3. Sharada Rani after marriage. June 1953.
Prof. Hideo Kimura, Ambassador of the Netherlands, Prof. RaghuVira, Lokesh Chandra, Sharada Rani, Mrs. RaghuVira, Ambassador of Germany, Prof. L. Cha

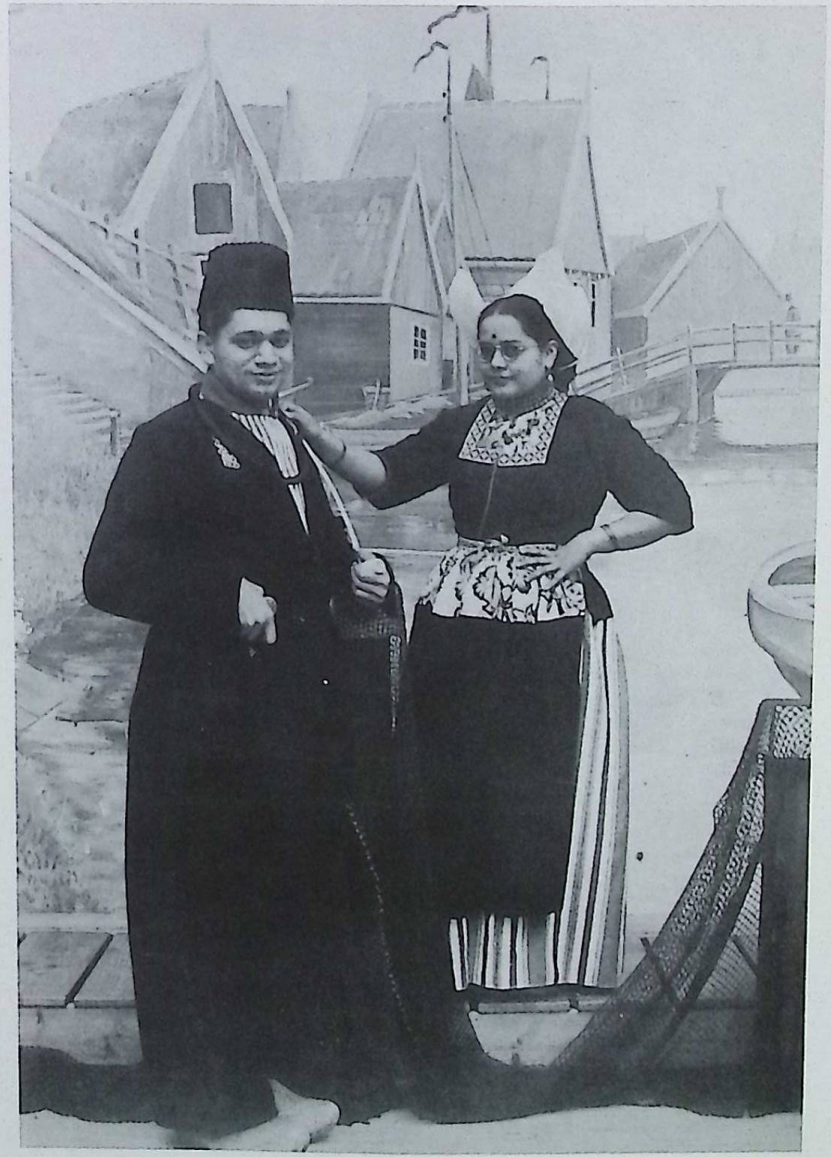


4. On board S.S. Lloyd Triestino, December 1956.
Sudarshana Devi Singhal, Sharada Rani, Lokesh Chandra, G.D. Singhal

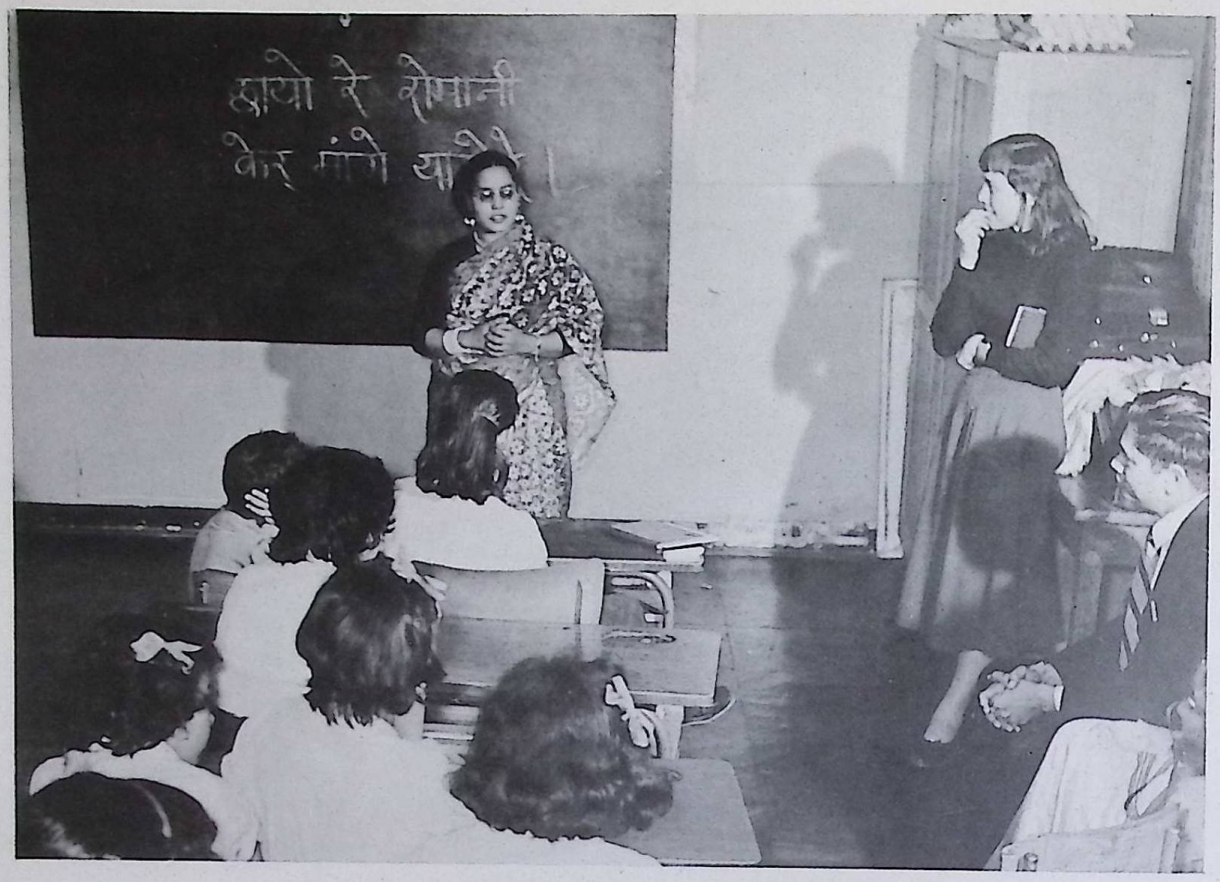
5. Sharada Rani and Sudarshana Devi Singhal flanking Prof. Dr. J. Gonda after getting their D. Litt. on 1 March 1957.



6. Lokesh Chandra and Sharada Rani in the Netherlands, 1957.



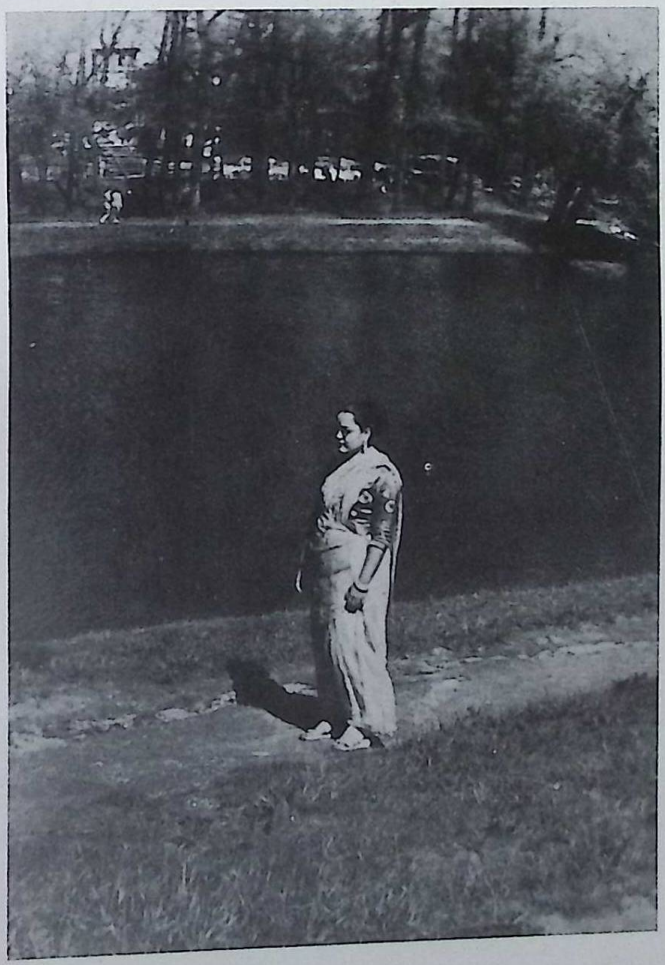
7. Lokesh Chandra and Sharada Rani in fisherman's dress, Netherlands, 1957.



8. Sharada Rani singing Hindi songs for gypsy children in Czechoslovakia, 1957.

9. Sharada Rani applying the vermilion mark on the forehead of a gyspy girl, Czechoslovakia 1957.

10. Sharada Rani with Prof. Ivo Fiser and Dr. Odolen Smekal, Prague 1957.



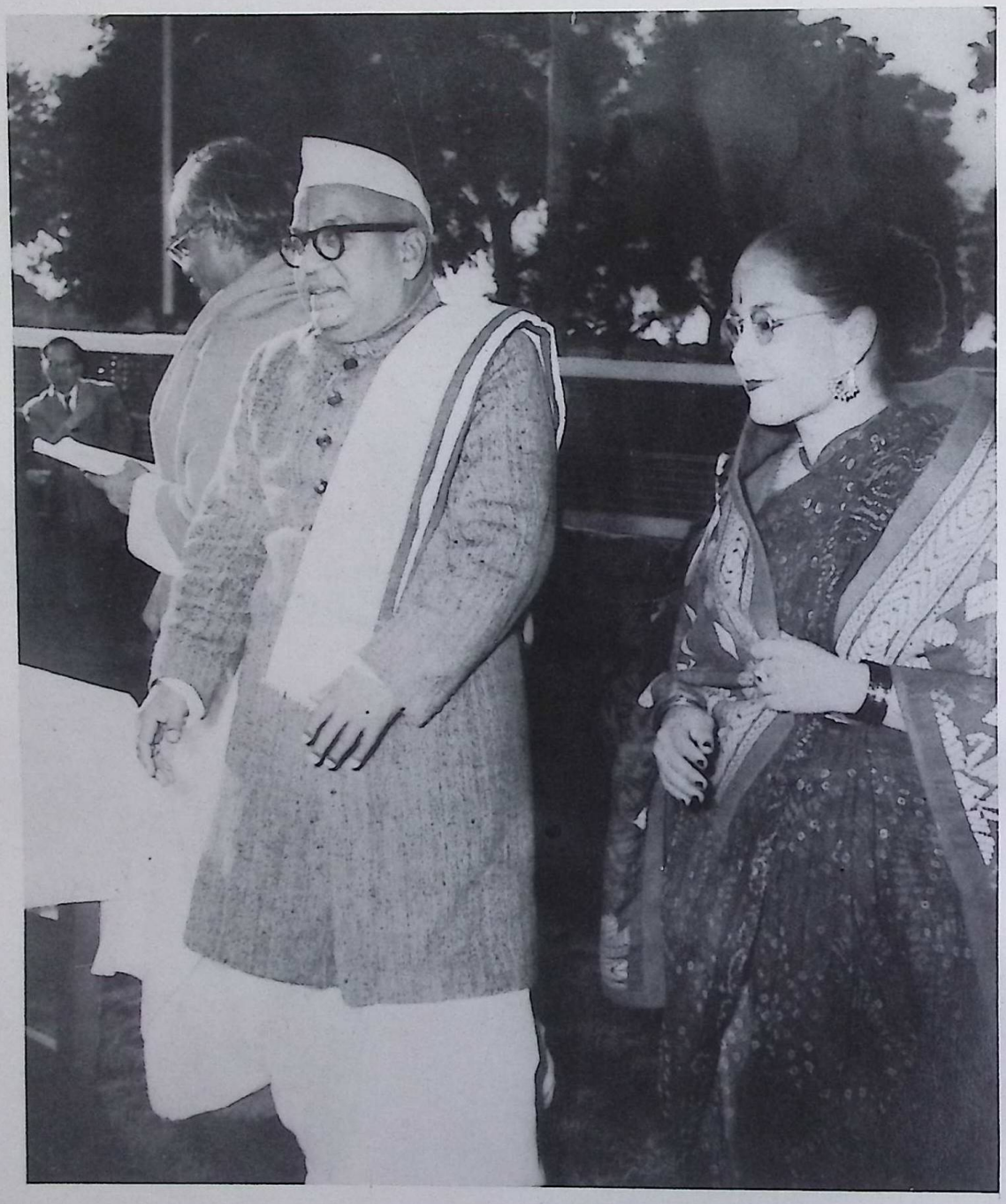
11. Sharada Rani in Leningrad. May 1957.

12. Sharada Rani singing a Sanskrit hymn to Tārā in the Gandan monastery at Ulanbator, Mongolia 1957.

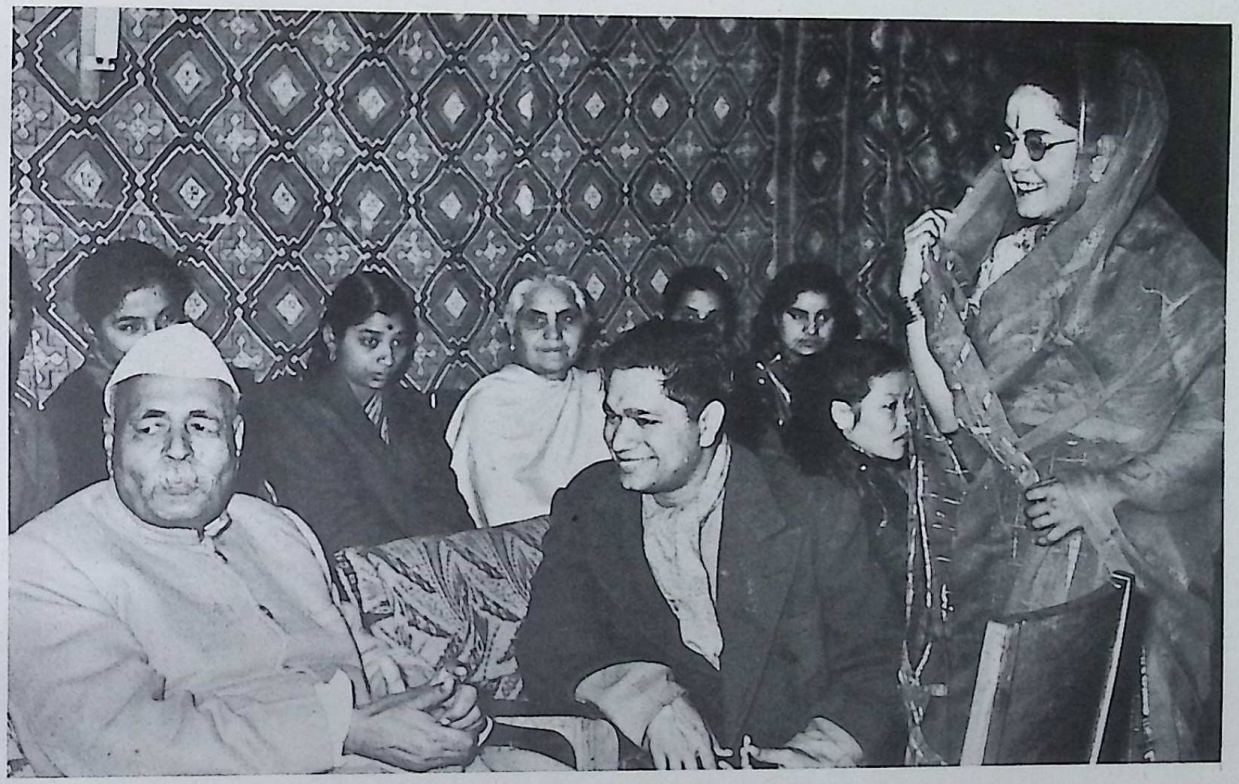
13. Sharada Rani, Interpreter and Lokesh Chandra at the entrance of the Academy of Sciences, Ulanbator, Mongolia 1957.

14. Sharada Rani and Sudarshana Devi Singhal with the President of Mongolia, 1957.

15. Sharada Rani and Lokesh Chandra



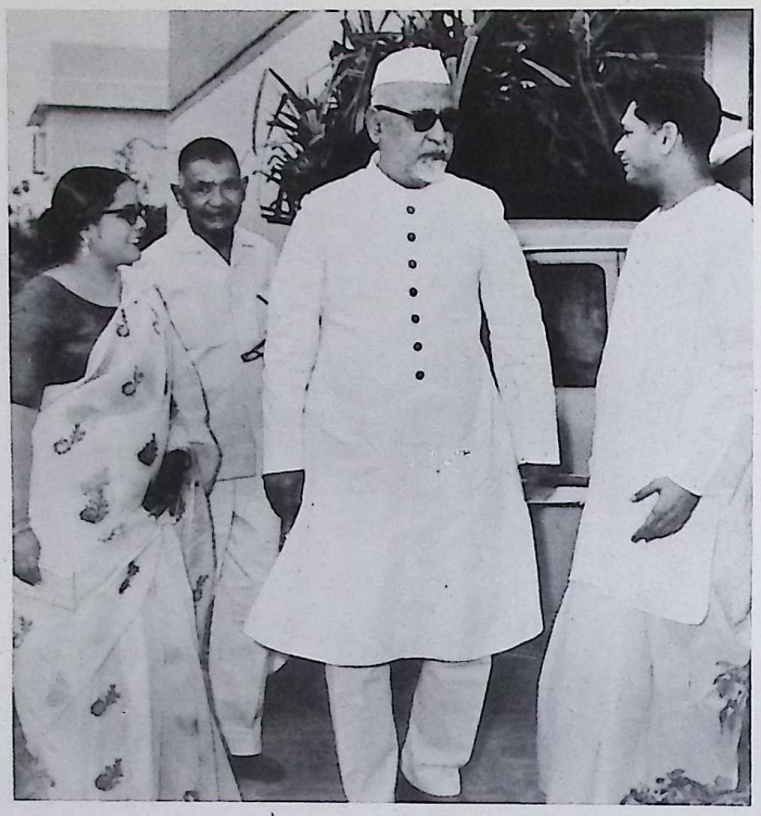
16. Sharada Rani welcoming H.E. Mr. Anantasayanam Aiyangar, Speaker of the Parliament of India, at a function in honour of Prof. Rinchen at the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi 1957.



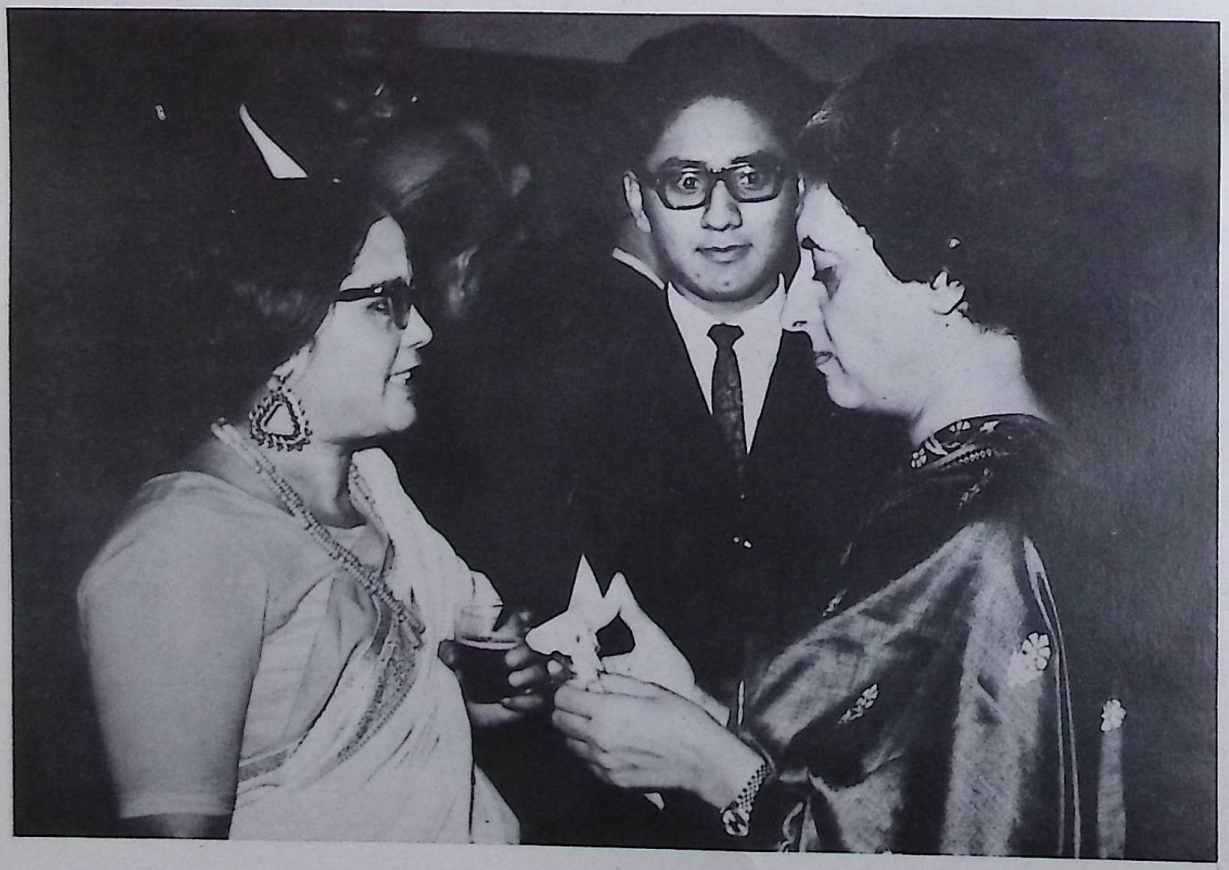
17. Sharada Rani and Lokesh Chandra with Mr. G.B. Pant, Home Minister of India, at the marriage of Sushama and Rakesh Lohia on 18 Feb. 1959.

18. Sharada Rani at the centenary celebrations of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1961

19. Sharada Rani greeting the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka Mrs. Bandaranayake, Jan. 1963.

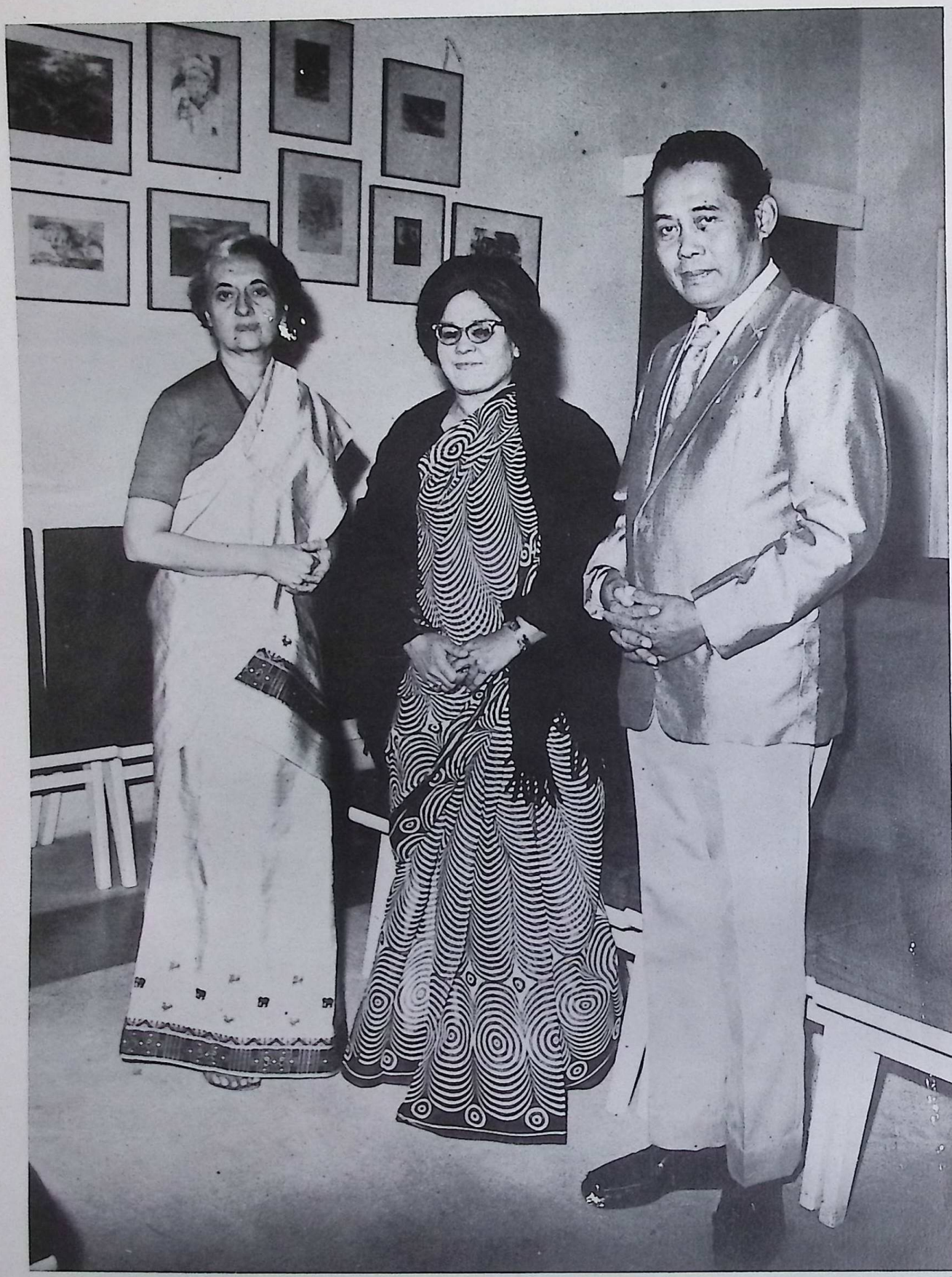


20. Sharada Rani and Lokesh Chandra welcoming the Vice-President of India Dr. Zakir Hussain at a function to commemorate Prof. RaghuVira.



21. Sharada Rani talking to Smt. Indira Gandhi at a diplomatic reception

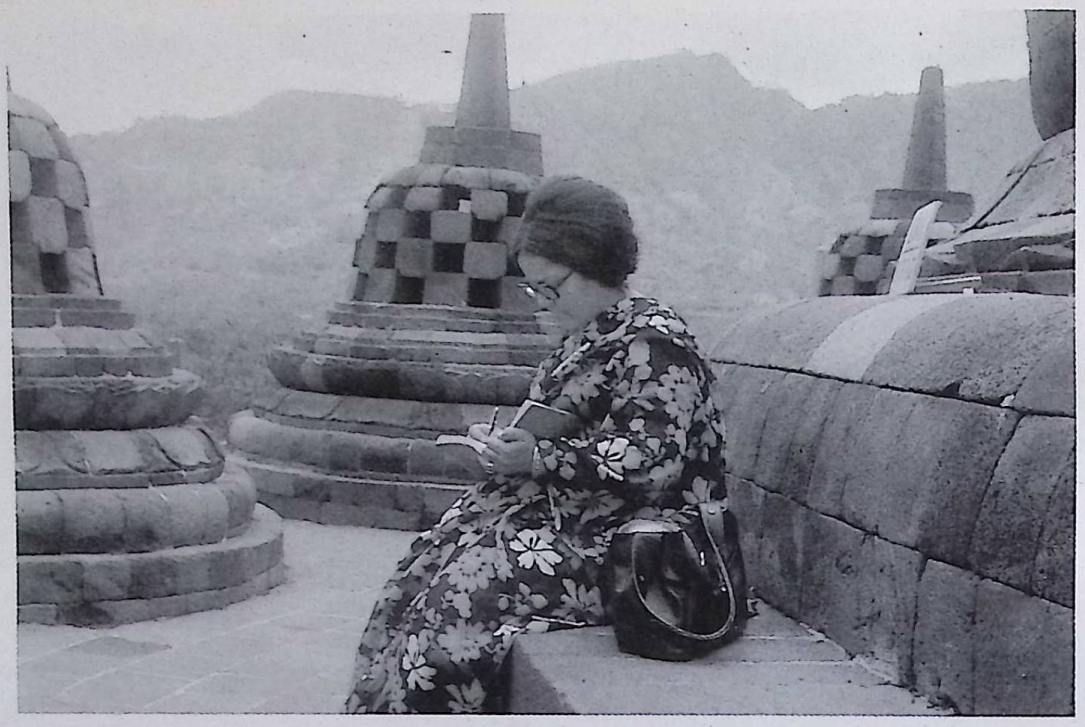
22. Lokesh Chandra and Sharada Rani with the Vice-President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan at the Embassy of Cambodia.



23. Sharada Rani with the Prime Minister of India Smt. Indira Gandhi, alongwith a Member of the Parliament of Indonesia.

24. Sharada Rani showing a scroll of Japanese calligraphy of Siddham to the Ambassador of Japan at a ceremony to present Japanese books to the International Academy of Indian Culture on 22 August 1975.

25. Sharada Rani with Prof. A. Yuyama, Tokyo.



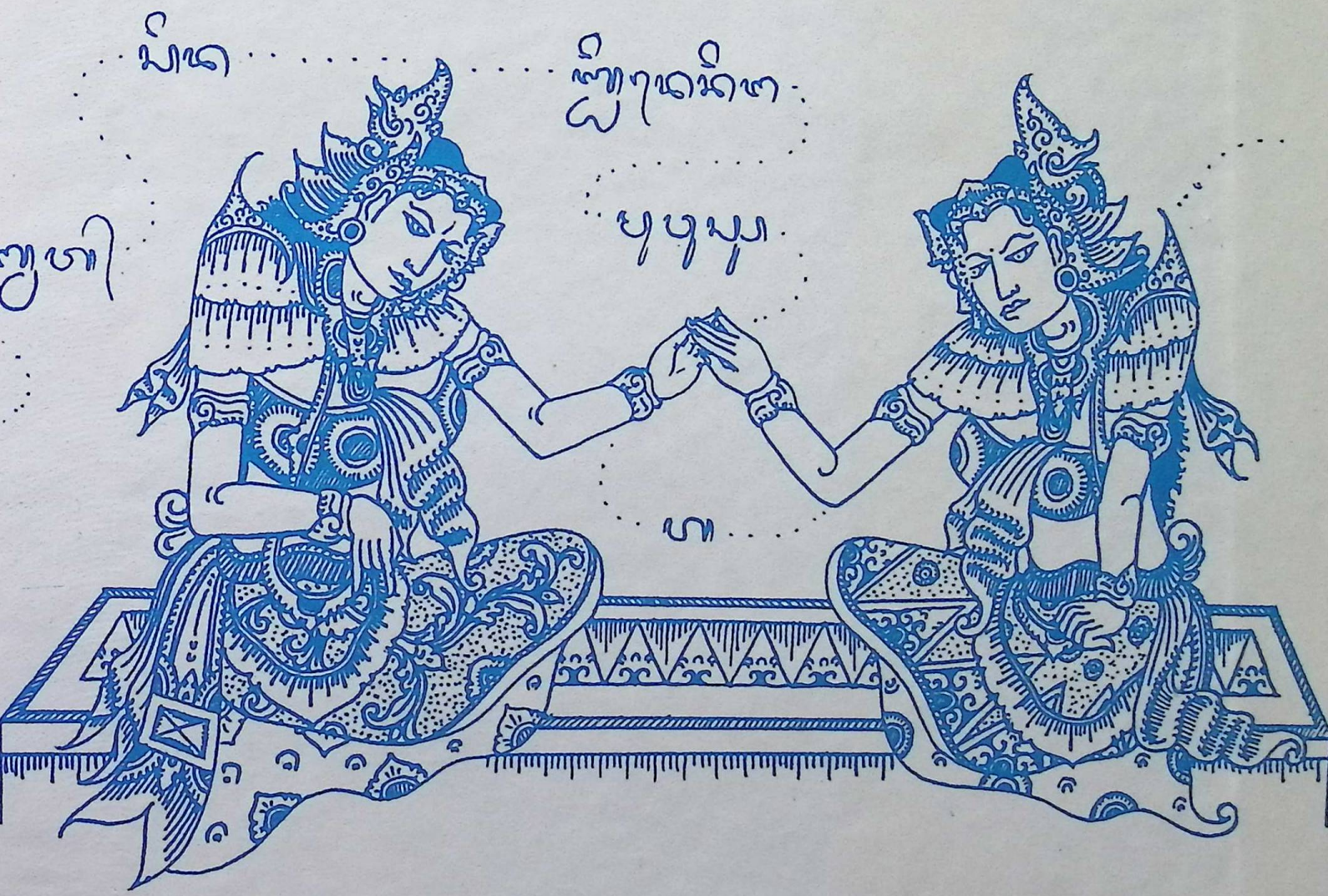
26. Sharada Rani on the summit of the Borobudur, Indonesia.

27. Sharada Rani in Chandi Loro Joṅgraṅ, Prambanan, Indonesia.

28. Sharada Rani alongside a Nandī in the Central Museum, Jakarta, Indonesia.

29. Sharada Rani with Suchada Tantianon in a temple, Bangkok, Thailand.

30. Sharada Rani at Besakih temple, Bali during the Ekadasa Rudra celebrations.



A volume dedicated to the many-splendoured culture of Indonesia with contributions by scholars from Australia, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Netherlands, Soviet Union, Sweden, United Kingdom and the United States of America. It deals with music and magic, law and jurisprudence, visual performances and sculptural representations, text and temple, Śaivism and Buddhism, poetry and canons of art, verb structure and verse in Javanese, Hinduism and economics, the sacral concept of state and Javanese mysticism, influence of wayang on Russian rod-puppets, iconography and re-identification of Chandi Mendut.

The volume is offered as a tribute to the late Dr. Mrs. Sharada Rani, who edited Old Javanese texts like the Ślokāntara and Wratiśāsana. She the ephemeral has closed her eyes to open to the silence of statues that sleep in the light of her being. She strove to give the world new eyes to see the heart-work of Indonesia's culture, so that in the *Urgrund* of the celestial relative of these myriad isles, humanity may renew and refresh the emblems of the unknown.

The names of contributors and the titles of their articles are: A.L. Becker, Ann Arbor (Michigan) U.S.A., *Translating the art of music*; Dr. Stephen C. Headley, Paris, France, *The Javanese exorcisms of evil: betwixt India and Java*; Prof. Mason C. Hoadley, Lund, Sweden, *Sanskrit continuity in Southeast Asia, the ṣaḍātatāyī and aṣṭacora in Javanese law*; Dr. Felicia Hughes-Freeland, Swansea, U.K., *Javanese visual performance and the Indian mystique*; Dr. Kazuko Ishii, Tokyo, Japan, *Borobudur, the Tattvasaṁgraha, and the Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan*; Dr. R.E. Jordaan, SX Den Haag, Netherlands, *Text, temple and tirtha*; Dr. Marijke J. Klokke, HZ Leiden, Netherlands, *The tortoise and the geese: a comparison of a number of Indian and Javanese literary and sculptural versions of the story*; H.E. Prof. I. B. Mantra, New Delhi, India, *The cult of Śiva-Buddha*; Dr. L. Mardiwarsito, Jakarta Pusat , Indonesia, *Function and beauty in traditional Javanese poetry*; Dr. I. T. Murian, Moscow, Soviet Union, *Artistic canons in the system of the Borobudur*; Dr. A.K. Ogloblin, Leningrad, Soviet Union, *Old Javanese verb structure*; Dr. Peter Pink, Rellingen, *Ya maraja or Yamaraja: notes on a Javanese verse*; Dr. Helen Pausacker, North Carlton, Australia, *Srikandhi and Sumbadra: stereotyped role models or complex personalities?*; Mr. Moehammad Hoesodo, Solo, Indonesia, *The Mangkunagaran palace and the Hindu-Javanese legacy*; Dr. I. B. Oka Puni Atmaja, Jakarta Selatan, *Hinduism and economics*; *Eight manifestations of Śiva in Balinese art;* Prof. Dr. J.J. Ras, Ra Leiden, Netherlands, *Konsep raja sakti di Jawa pada jaman kuno*; Dr. Soewito Santoso, Klaten, Indonesia, *Sastra Harjendra Yuningrat in the wayang*; Dr. F. Seltmann, Ahornstrasse, Germany, *Studies concerning Indian shadow-theater and Indian marionette theater with special consideration of German scholars*; Dr. Mrs. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, Varanasi, India, *Caṇḍi Mendut and the Mahāvairocana-sūtra*; *Iconography of Cundā*; *A Balinese depiction of the Sītā-haraṇa episode*; Dr. Inna Solomonik, Moscow, Soviet Union, *The Oriental roots of Soviet rod-puppets*.

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